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Excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset, 1939

By KATHERINE M. RICHARDSON

POUNDBURY CAMP is situated on a bluff of the Upper Chalk overlooking the river Frome and its water-meadows (pl. LXVII). The approach from the south and west slopes gently riverwards, but to the east the site is separated from the outskirts of Dorchester by a shallow combe. Though its situation is hardly that of a hill-fort, usually isolated on a detached hill or promontory, nevertheless the camp holds a commanding position in relation to its immediate surroundings, and its multiple defences, now sadly defaced, must once have presented a considerable obstacle to enemy attack. Though not comparable in size to the oppidum of Maiden Castle, for it encloses an area of only 15 acres, the existence of such a stronghold less than two miles distant from the major hill-fort seemed to require investigation. By whom had it been constructed, for what purpose, and to what extent had it been occupied, were questions demanding explanation. It was with the intention of bringing some light to bear on these problems that excavations were carried out at Poundbury in the spring of 1939.

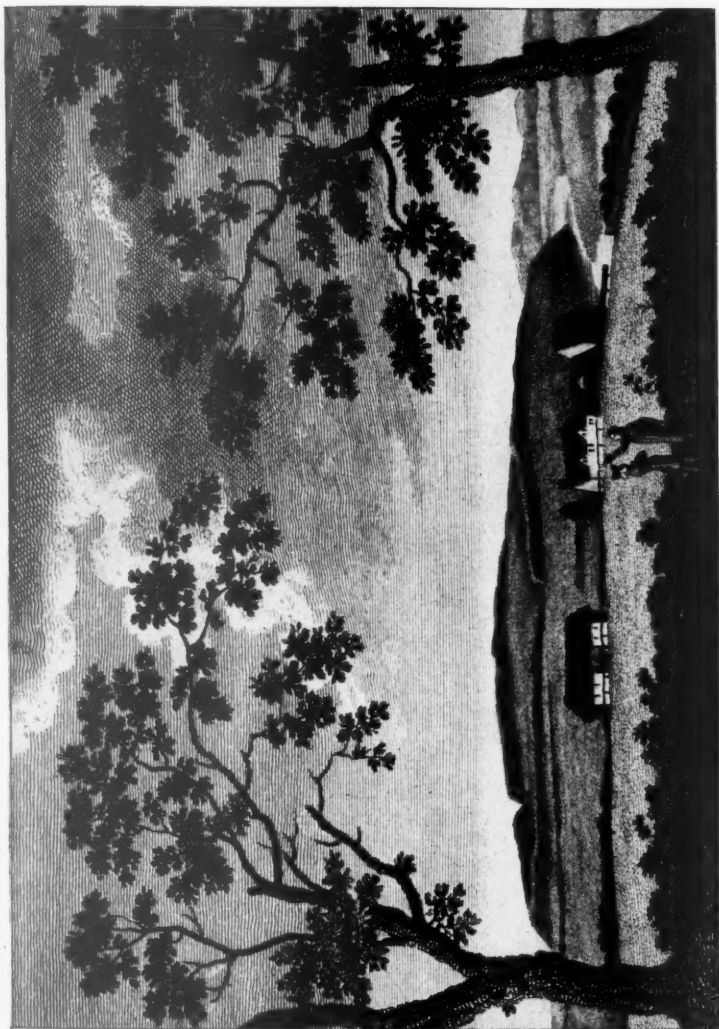
Permission to undertake the work was granted through the courtesy of the Duchy of Cornwall (the owners) and Mr. Childs (the tenant). I would like at this juncture to express my thanks to them, and especially to Mr. Childs, also to Lieutenant-Colonel C. D. Drew, to whom I am deeply indebted for a variety of information, to Mrs. A. Nugent Young for her active support, to Mr. W. Wedlake for his collaboration, and to Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler for his advice during the work and after. I must also thank Mr. W. Thornycroft for assistance in surveying, and Dr. A. J. E. Cave who has reported on a Romano-British skeleton.

As already mentioned, Poundbury is enclosed by a system of multiple defences, consisting on three sides of two banks and ditches, which are best preserved in their western length (pl. LXVI). On the north side, where the steep fall to the Frome offered adequate protection, the inner bank was retained, but for the outer bank was substituted a scarp between two ditches, which merge into one near the north-east corner of the camp. The latter now appear as two terraces, and excavation of the lower of these has proved the existence of a ditch (pl. LXXIV, 2). Of the three possible entrances, only one was found to be original, that which lies near the centre of the inner rampart on the east side. At this point the ditch was interrupted by a solid causeway. Two other gaps in the rampart are obviously modern. At a later period the Roman aqueduct, which winds along the Frome valley and its re-entrants, approaching the camp from the west (pl. LXXV), and which is now represented by a lynchet in the hill-side, utilized the lower of the two platforms formed by the silted ditches of the northern defences. After these have converged, the aqueduct then continues parallel to the line of the eastern defences and can be traced in the neighbouring fields to the south, where it swings round the head of the combe and thence into Dorchester. It may also be added that a Roman road, running north-west from Dorchester, passes a few hundred yards south of Poundbury. This is possibly the Dorchester–Ilchester road which crosses the Frome at Bradford Peverell,¹ though the O.S. map of Roman Britain shows that road as branching north-west from the Dorchester–Sarum road.

Though casually utilized by the Romano-Britons, Poundbury owes its major despoiling to more recent times. A number of lead bullets recovered from the sub-humus over the rampart and recognized by Lieut.-Col. C. D. Drew to be of the 'Brown Bess' type in use during the Napoleonic Wars, indicate that the camp served as a shooting-range for the Militia of that period. Still later, towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when the Great Western Railway line was laid, a tunnel was driven diagonally under the site, defacing its northern and eastern flanks.² The field on the eastern side of Poundbury was taken over by the military during the war, 1914–18, and the Iron Age

¹ See G. B. Grundy, *Arch. Journ.* xciv, 258 and pl. 1, Read 40.

² It was originally intended that a cutting should be driven through the camp, but thanks to the efforts of T. Colfox of Bridport, supported by Charles Warne, F.S.A., and other local archaeologists and the Royal Archaeological Institute, a protest was lodged by the Council of the Dorchester Museum and the tunnel was substituted for the cutting.



View of Poundbury Camp from the east
(From an engraving by J. Newton, 1786)



(Photo: G. W. G. Allen)

Poundbury Camp from the air

EXCAVATIONS AT POUNDBURY, DORSET 431

Camp was then used as an exercising-ground for German prisoners of war. One can only hope that this site which is part of the historical heritage of the citizens of Dorchester, and has so frequently been visited by them in the course of their Sunday walks along the banks of the Frome, will not suffer further depredations.

Excavation of the site was begun on 28th April 1939 and finished on 18th May. A continuous cutting was made through both banks and ditches of the western defences near the north-west corner, the area inside the camp was extensively examined, and two trenches were dug across the aqueduct, the first where this continued along the lower platform below the north rampart, and the second some 73 yards west of the camp. Evidence was obtained of a neolithic occupation of the site without associated structural features. The inner rampart and ditch were found to have been built in Iron Age A times, while the outer bank and ditch and an addition to the inner bank belonged apparently to the Belgic period.¹ Early-fourth-century Roman sherds from the silting of the ditches and from area sites suggest that the Romano-Britons were engaged in some sort of activity in or near Poundbury at that period, though indeed such sherds may be but the scattered rubbish thrown out from the neighbouring Durnovaria. With the exception of an indeterminate fragment of Samian, no evidence was obtained as to the date of the aqueduct.

Area sites.

The area within the defences was examined by a series of 3-ft. square trenches, about 38 in all, dug every 100 ft. In every case the sub-humus reposed directly on the natural chalk, and produced a scatter of abraded sherds among which the only recognizable types were third- to fourth-century Roman and medieval. The absence of hearths, pits, post-holes for hut circles, and occupation material indicates that the site cannot have been extensively occupied in Iron Age or Roman times. A Romano-British skeleton was found in a shallow grave in the silt of the inner ditch at the north-east corner of the camp. A number of nails lying round the skeleton showed that it had been buried in a coffin.²

¹ Camden and Hutchins considered that Poundbury was a Danish camp, while Stukely and Charles Warne were of the opinion that it was a Roman work (see Warne, *Ancient Dorset* (1872), p. 217). Edward Cunnington was the first to recognize that the site was pre-Roman, having dug in the western ditch and found 'Celtic potsherds' (see H. J. Moule, *Dorchester Antiquities* (1906), p. 20).

² Charles Warne quotes from a Guide to Dorchester, mentioning that 'Roman'

SITE A B C D (pl. LXXI)

*The Inner and Outer Ramparts and Ditches*i. *The Neolithic Period.*

A hearth was found below the turf-line, scooped in the natural chalk and sealed by the outer bank. This was accompanied by flakes, while a 'tranchet' arrow-head, a scraper, a fabricator, and worked flakes occurred in the same level under the inner bank. The 'tranchet' implies a late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age occupation of the site. With regard to the little pottery from the same level, Mr. Piggott, who kindly examined the sherds, considers that none is typically Neolithic, and only one might be Early Bronze Age (fig. 5, no. 1). The pottery therefore belongs to the later occupation of the site and was trampled into the turf-line.

ii. *The Iron Age Period.*

Rampart 1 and the Inner Ditch. The section through the inner bank (pls. LXIX, 1 and LXVIII) showed that this belonged to two phases, rampart 1 being clearly defined by a turf-line. This early bank was built of the material obtained from the ditch and an inner quarry-ditch. Three oval post-holes, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft., were identified on the outer face of the rampart. These had been dug 4 ft. 6 in. back from the edge of the ditch, leaving a berm, and penetrated to a depth of 2 ft. into the natural chalk (pl. LXX, 2). Post-holes in the same position relative to the rampart have been found at Cissbury Camp, Sussex.¹ They indicate the existence of a revetment which gave a vertical face to the rampart, and probably projected above the crest of the bank to screen a fighting platform or sentry walk along the levelled top. The posts would be tied into the body of the rampart and the projecting ends linked together with wattles or some sort of walling; this might account for a quantity of large flints found in the silting of the inner ditch at Poundbury.

The same type of construction in a more elaborate form was found in the rampart at Hollingbury,² again in Sussex, and at

coffins of Ham Hill stone were found near the north-east corner of Poundbury (*Ancient Dorset* (1872), note to p. 219).

Recent work in the field below the eastern rampart has brought to light other Roman coffins of Ham Hill and Portland stone. This area was undoubtedly the site of a Roman cemetery.

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xi (1931), 22.

² *Ibid.* xii (1932), 3-9; xiii (1933), 162; see also E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1937), p. 239.

Maiden Castle.¹ In these three hill-forts the defences in question are associated with Iron Age A culture. This, at Maiden Castle, is the earlier phase of Dorset A, for the later coincided with the period of expansion, *circa* 200 B.C., when the defences were remodelled and the bank was built out to the edge of the ditch so as to offer a continuous slope from the crest of the bank to the bottom of the ditch on the glacis principle.

At Poundbury a small quantity of pottery was recovered from under the inner and outer banks, and this had apparently been trampled into the old turf-line when work was in progress. Other sherds were found in the body of rampart 2; these probably came from the surface of the ground behind rampart 1, and were thrown up with the re-cut of the quarry-ditch. Both groups agree with a Middle A dating. The section across the inner ditch (pls. LXVIII and LXIX, 2) showed this to be funnel-shaped, the last few feet dropping vertically to a floor barely a foot wide. This type of ditch is again characteristic of Iron Age A, and can be paralleled at Maiden Castle and at Chalbury Camp, a few miles east of Maiden Castle, where a steep funnel-shaped ditch was dug into the limestone, though in this case, owing to the nature of the material in which it was dug, the funnel part and the bottom are wider.

The lowest levels of the inner ditch at Poundbury did not produce any dating material.

Rampart 2 and the Outer Bank and Ditch. At a somewhat later period the inner bank was remodelled. A succession of almost horizontal tips were thrown up at the back of the early rampart, bringing the inner face to the edge of the original quarry-ditch. The horizontal tips stopped flush with the top of the old bank and the whole was capped and heightened by a great dump of chalk lumps obtained from a re-cutting of the quarry-ditch. The vertical wooden revetment, which may have already collapsed, was scrapped and a limestone retaining wall was built on the summit of the original rampart, to retain the final chalk capping (pl. LXXIII, 1). Thus the berm construction was replaced by the glacis type of defence. Actually, this wall had been robbed in the stretch exposed in the cutting, but its position could be defined in the section, and its existence, already suggested by fragments of limestone in the ditch filling, was confirmed by a trial trench south of the main section (see pl. LXXI, inset, site G).

The main ditch does not appear to have been re-cut or even cleared out, as is indicated by the presence of a turf-line. The

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xvii (1937), 265.

small outer bank (pl. LXIX, 2) showed no structural features and was of simple dump-construction, while the outer ditch was V-shaped with a foot-wide floor (pl. LXX, 1). No evidence was obtained for the dating of the rebuild of the inner bank from occupation subsequent to its construction. The date of the remodelling of the defences therefore rests on one sherd of black, wheel-turned, Iron Age C ware found on the rock bottom of the outer ditch and there sealed by the rapid chalk silt. This somewhat scanty but indubitable evidence is, however, supported by a comparatively large number of Belgic sherds which occurred in layers 6 of both ditches (fig. 6). These, together with a brooch (fig. 4, no. 1) from layer 5, of a type found at Maiden Castle in Belgic levels, *circa* A.D. 25–60, indicate that the camp was used if not inhabited by Iron Age C people for a fair number of years.

It is still too early to draw conclusions about Belgic types of rampart construction. Too few sites have yet been excavated for comparison. One may, however, tentatively suggest that revetting walls built high up on the outer face of a rampart may be a Belgic feature—such a revetment was found at Oldbury in Kent,¹ and recently at Duclair in Normandy,² both Belgic sites.

New Forest wares and associated pottery from the higher levels in both ditches (fig. 7) and a coin of Claudius II (A.D. 268–70), from layer 4 of the outer ditch, together with evidence from the area trenches show that the site was frequented in the early fourth century A.D.

CONCLUSIONS

In describing the construction of the defences of Poundbury and their relationship to the Iron Age cultures, the term 'occupation' has been sedulously avoided. Indeed, the most striking feature of the excavation within the defences was the complete absence of occupation in the fullest sense of the word, as indicating settled habitation, that is, hearths, pits, and hut sites. Even potsherds were scarce; most of them occurred in the rampart and, like the sherds found in the rampart at Oldbury, Kent, may be but the remains of an Iron Age labourer's lunch basket.

Though evidence of Iron Age occupation immediately behind the inner bank would have been largely destroyed by the re-cutting of the quarry-ditch, it is clear that Poundbury can never have contained a settled population. The very meagre evidence of occupation is consistent with the use of the camp as an

¹ See *Arch. Cantiana*, li (1940), fig. 6, section AB.

² To be published in a report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries.

occasional refuge by villagers on the adjacent downs, or on the high ground above the Frome. As such, it is more likely to have been built before than after the neighbouring hill-town of Maiden Castle; and in particular the almost complete absence of Iron Age B relics from the site points to complete dereliction during the central phase of the latter.

But if Poundbury began life as an Iron Age A refuge, what explanation is to be found for its extensive rebuilding in the Iron Age C or Belgic period? The strong military character of the Belgic occupation of Maiden Castle was made clear by the excavation of that site; and the important strategic position of Poundbury fits easily into the picture. For not only did Poundbury lie within easy reach of the later Romanized ridgeway, which passed close by on its westerly course to Eggardun,¹ but it could also have commanded a possible approach to the great ridgeway south of Maiden Castle and to the hill-fort itself from the direction of the river ford.² In short, the inhabitants of the major hill-fort might well have seized upon and rebuilt the decayed Iron Age A hill-fort for purely military reasons, either at the moment of their own victorious arrival or later, under the threat of Roman aggression.

Apart altogether from its possible military functions, this accessible fortification may on occasion have served more peaceful purposes. Taking into consideration once more its position, on the plain below the downs, in relation to a ford, the ridgeways, and the town of Maiden Castle, one might suppose that the place could have been used as a coldharbour for passing caravans or as fairground and market-place for the surrounding country-side. To such a centre cattle could be driven and there bartered for other goods; beasts and herdsman, buyers and sellers of market produce, merchants and their wares would alike find some security there from marauders and cattle thieves. But such usage is likely to have been but secondary; the fortifications themselves, strong and strongly reinforced, are eloquent rather of moments of stress and crises in the development of Iron Age Dorset.

THE ROMAN AQUEDUCT (pl. LXXV)

Barely forty years ago, the Roman aqueduct which once

¹ G. B. Grundy, *Arch. Journ.* xciv (1937), pl. 1, Road 38, and *ibid.* xcv (1938), p. 191.

² Such a ford existed in medieval days a little to the east of modern Dorchester, 300 yards downstream from the present Grey's Bridge in the parish of Fordington. The Roman and Iron Age ford may have been here or further westwards.

carried water to Dorchester was still a lost entity, and those stretches of lynchets representing its course along the Frome valley masqueraded on the Ordnance Survey map under the name of 'earthworks', 'roads', and 'camps'.¹ As early as 1846, a section showing the aqueduct and outer Iron Age ditch was exposed, when the railway cutting south-east of Poundbury was being excavated. A tracing of this section (now in the Dorchester Museum) was actually drawn by the Railway Surveyor, but the aqueduct channel was not identified.² The true nature of the scattered 'earthworks' was first recognized by Major J. N. Coates, R.A., whose curiosity was aroused by a stretch of aqueduct still functioning as an open channel near Whitfield Farm, a little over a quarter of a mile west of Poundbury. Having carried out tests here and there with an Abney's level, Major Coates proceeded to draw a map showing those stretches still visible to the naked eye, and tracing what he judged to be its course, from a supposed intake in Church Bottom, near the Foxleaze Withybed, past Muckleford and Bradford Peverell, down to the head of the combe east of Poundbury. This survey now hangs in the Dorchester Museum, and is also roughly reproduced in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural Hist. and Antiq. Field Club*, xxii (1901), 80, where Major Coates published his conclusions (fig. 1). In an appendix to this article, p. 84, Mr. W. Miles Barnes states that a careful survey was made and sections were cut near Whitfield Farm, Combe Bottom, and Bradford Peverell, exposing the aqueduct channel, which proved to be 2 ft. 6 in. deep and 6 ft. across. The names of these surveyors is not mentioned, nor were any sections published. A cutting was also made under the direction of Mr. H. B. Middleton near Eweleaze, and was duly inspected by members of the Dorset Field Club.³ The channel was found at a depth of 6 ft. and in the section proved to be 6 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep. Worked flints and Samian pottery are said to have been recovered, and the silt contained *Confervidae* indicating the one-time presence of running water. In the opinion of this excavator the channel had not been lined with puddled clay. In spite of Major Coates's report and Mr. Middleton's excavation, no further interest was taken in the matter, and the Ordnance Survey devotedly con-

¹ A stretch of the aqueduct south of Whitfield Farm is referred to by Charles Warne (*Ancient Dorset*, 1872, p. 48) as a 'Pastoral camp', and the section adjoining Poundbury, as a 'terraced road'.

² Warne (*ibid.*, p. 219) notes that 'the cutting of the railway has revealed a clear section of the inner and outer ditch (of Poundbury)'.

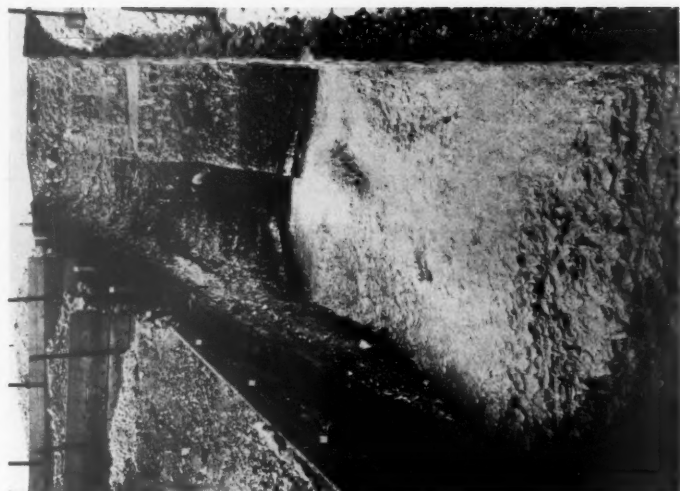
³ *Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Field Club*, xxiii (1902), 1.



View of Poundbury from the north, looking across the water-meadows of the Frome



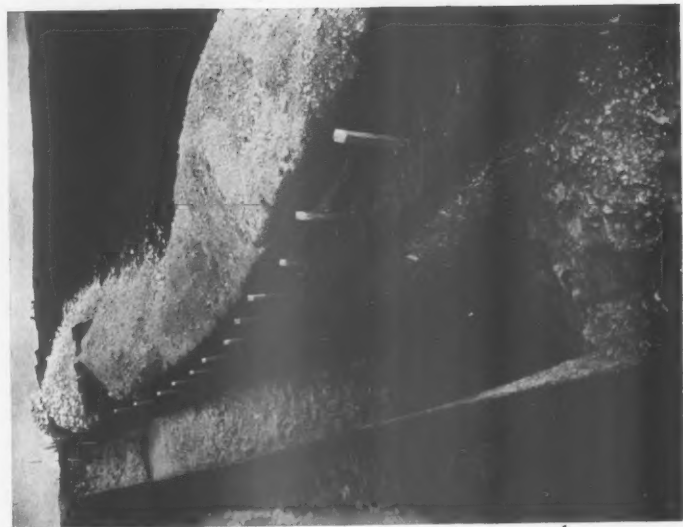
Site AB, the inner rampart and ditch. The ranging-rods are in the post-holes of the rampart 1 revetment, the man is standing on the horizon of the robbed revetting wall of rampart 2



1. Site A. Section through inner bank; the lip of the re-cut quarry-ditch is seen in the foreground



2. Site BC. The inner ditch and outer bank



1. Site CD. The outer bank and ditch



2. Site A. Post-holes of the rampart i revetment

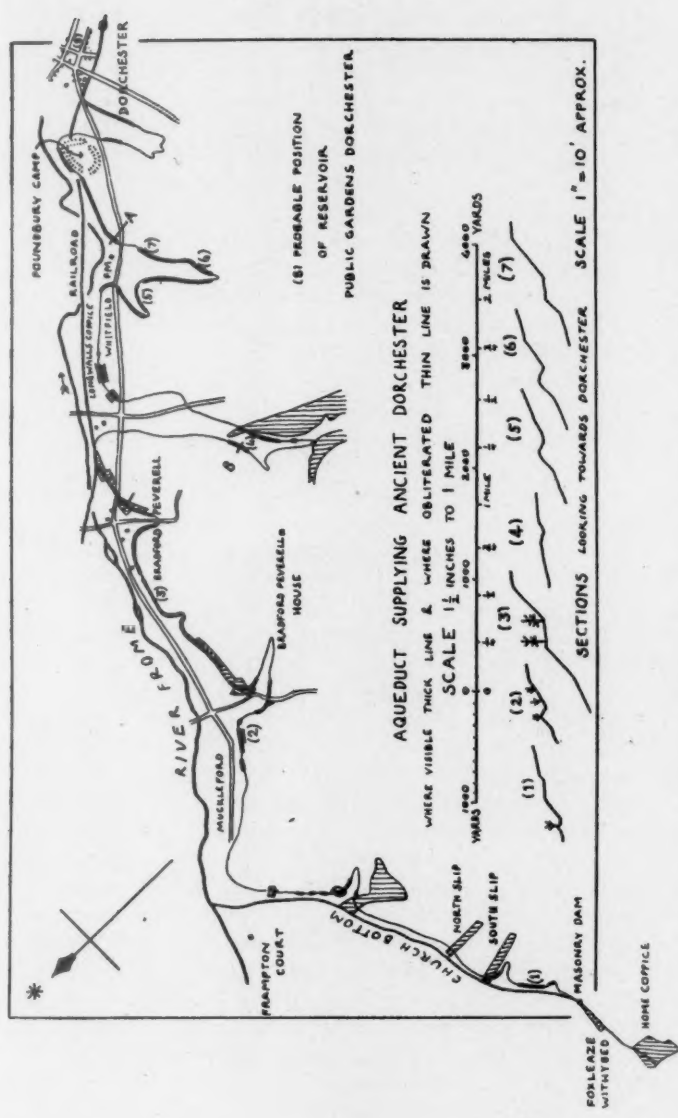


FIG. 1. Course of the Roman aqueduct, after Major J. N. Coates, R.A. (Reproduced by the courtesy of the Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.; see *Proceedings*, xii (1901), 80.)

tinued to label the visible stretches as earthworks and camps. In July 1918, however, a siding was excavated on the north side of the railway cutting, close to the mouth of the tunnel (H on pl. LXVI) in connexion with the German prisoners of war camp, then occupying the field on the east of Poundbury. This cutting exposed a remarkably good section of the aqueduct and Iron Age ditch. Very fortunately an excellent photograph of this was taken by Mr. O. C. Vidler (see pl. LXXIII, 2). This shows very clearly the aqueduct on the left (A) and the Iron Age ditch on the right (B). As Mr. Vidler then noted, the latter had already half silted up before the aqueduct was made, and the dark layer in the section represents the turf-line sealing the silt. The material above this appears to be the upcast from the excavation of the aqueduct channel. It is clear that on this side of Poundbury the aqueduct runs between the outer and inner Iron Age ditch, at the foot of the terrace representing the degraded outer bank, as is better shown in the tracing of the corresponding section on the south face of the cutting drawn by the Railway Surveyor c. 1846. The outer rampart was therefore probably levelled in the Roman period.

In 1922 the course of the aqueduct was examined afresh by Major Phillips Foster, R.A. A paper on this subject was published by him in 1925¹ in which he fully agreed with Major Coates's mapping of the course upstream from Poundbury as far as Lithwood Farm, within a short distance of Frampton Park (pl. LXXII). At this point Major Coates had shown it as branching away from the Frome up Church Bottom to a possible intake at the Foxleaze sheepwashing pool. Major Foster, however, considered that this entailed an unwarranted jump in level and decided that it must have crossed Church Bottom at Steps Barn Hazel Bed, doubled back to Frampton Court, thence to continue north-west once more as far as Notton Mill, at which point the Frome itself could have been tapped. Owing to intense cultivation and the presence of various farm buildings this stretch is not apparent on the ground, but levels roughly taken by Messrs. Vidler and C. S. Prideaux supported Major Foster's theory. Finally, carefully checked levels were taken by Colonel Cunningham, assisted by General Edwards and Captain Griffin of the Royal Engineers. They agreed that 'Notton is the natural place for the intake', and also were able to show that the fall in level from Notton to Dorchester is about 2 ft. per mile,² roughly 0.04 per cent., a remarkably gentle gradient when it is recalled that Vitruvius

¹ *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Field Club*, xlv (1925), 1 and map.

² *Ibid.* 8, footnote by C. S. Prideaux.

recommended a fall of not less than $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.¹ The 1938 excavations at Poundbury have not added materially to the history of the aqueduct. Unfortunately, no dating material other than an indeterminate sherd of Samian was obtained from these two cuttings. Recent excavations at Colliton Park,² however, have brought to light a water conduit which was probably a branch of the main aqueduct. This does not appear to have come into use earlier than the last decade of the first century A.D. and did not function for more than a century. If this dating holds good for the main aqueduct, its brief period of use may be explained by the fact that Roman Dorchester lay only 70 ft. above the Frome, and that water could also be easily obtained at no great depth by sinking wells into the underlying chalk. In other words, this aqueduct did not supply a long-felt want, and the labour entailed in digging the channel appears to have been quite unwarranted. Its construction, like that of the amphitheatre of Maumbury Rings, must therefore have been regarded by the citizens of Durnovaria rather as a concrete symbol of their degree of Romanization and the progressive spirit of the town council.

As to the question of the site of a reservoir, it appears that while the Borough Gardens were being laid out in 1910, the workmen came upon a depression lined with puddled clay. The gardens lie just below the highest part of Dorchester and immediately outside the line of the western town wall of Durnovaria. This depression may therefore possibly represent all that survived of the tanks in which the supply from the aqueduct was stored for redistribution through conduits such as that recovered in Colliton Park.

SITE E AND F

Both sections across the aqueduct (pl. LXXIV, 1 and 2 and fig. 2) showed the channel to have slightly sloping sides and to be roughly 3 ft. deep and 5 ft. 3 in. across the bottom. But whereas at site F, west of Poundbury, the channel was cut in the natural chalk, at site E, below the northern rampart, it had been dug partially through the filling of the outer Iron Age ditch, and to prevent the water seeping away through this filling the side had been lined with a thick wedge of clay. A dark deposit on the chalk bottom of the channel indicated that water had flowed over it for a considerable period. Small deposits of clay in the angle between the side and

¹ Vitruvius, viii. 6. 1.

² *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* lx (1939), 14.

the floor shown in section F suggest that the corners may have been luted with puddled clay.¹ The lower silting in the aqueduct, composed of earth and chalk containing land snails, suggests that material from the sides of the cutting gradually choked the channel and the course of the stream was interrupted. Later,

POUNDBURY

DORSET

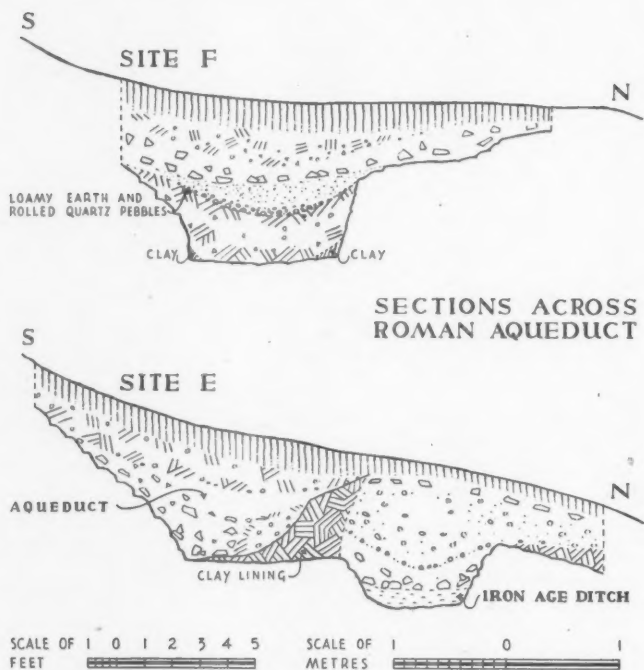


FIG. 2

however, water flowed again, hollowing a channel in the silt and depositing a loamy layer full of rolled quartz pebbles. By this time the aqueduct had ceased to function as such.

(Fig. 3) *Flint Objects*

Flint tools and flakes, some with secondary working, were found in the turf-line sealed by rampart 1 and the outer bank, and in the chalky layer

¹ A section dug in the summer of 1939 by Mr. K. Selby, near Bradford Peverell, showed similar wedges of clay.

beneath overlying the natural chalk. All were made of a white cherty flint. Although associated with Iron Age A sherds, these flint tools clearly belong to a late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age culture. Scrapers were also found in area cuttings.

1. A roughly made 'petit tranchet' derivative class E; see Dr. Grahame Clark's classification, *Arch. Journ.* xci (1935), 32. This type has been found exclusively with grooved ware and is therefore of Late Neolithic–

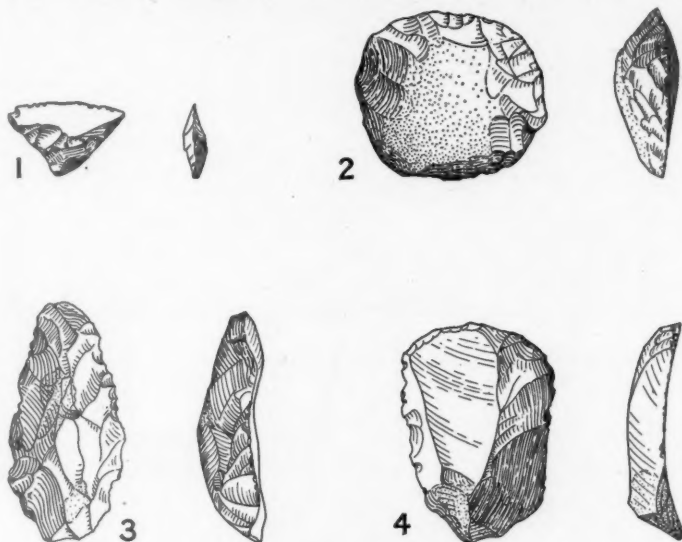


FIG. 3. Flint objects ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Early Bronze Age date. From the layer below the turf-line under the early bank.

2. From the same layer as the above, a horseshoe-shaped scraper.
3. Flint fabricator from the turf-line under rampart 1.
4. Scraper from an area cutting, layer 2.

(Fig. 4) *Bronze Objects*

1. Bronze brooch from layer 5 of the outer ditch found associated with Belgic sherds (fig. 6, nos. 4 and 6). Cf. Pitt Rivers, *Excavations at Rushmore*,¹ pl. x, nos. 6 and 11. This is a decadent example of the latter, still preserving the nicks on the bow reminiscent of La Tène II brooches. Examples have also been found at Maiden Castle, where they are dated c. A.D. 25–60.

2. A still more decadent example of the above from layer 4 of the outer ditch, which produced a coin of Claudius II and New Forest Ware as well as some stray Belgic sherds. This brooch is probably a survival.

¹ *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, vol. i.

3. Bronze key of common Roman type, found in the ditch filling, close by the burial, associated with late third-early fourth century sherds.

Bone Object (not illustrated)

A gouge-shaped tool, made from the tibia of a sheep or goat, pierced longitudinally at its proximal end and with transverse rivet-holes for hafting. From layer 9 of the inner ditch. This type of tool is common at Glastonbury,¹ and occurred in B levels at Maiden Castle, but survived into the Iron Age C period.



FIG. 4. Bronze objects ($\frac{1}{2}$)

Coin

Claudius II-Antoninianus. A.D. 268-70. Cohen, 6.

Obv. (IMP C. CLAVDIVS AVG.), bust radiate right.

Rev. AEQ(VITAS AVG). Aequitas standing left holding scales and cornucopiae.

From layer 4 of outer ditch.

(Fig. 5) *Iron Age A and B Pottery*

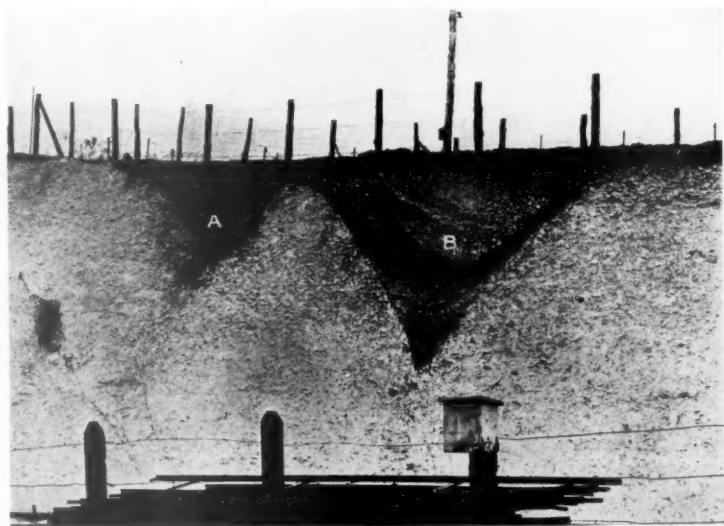
Nos. 1-3 are from the turf-line under both banks, Nos. 4 and 7 from the body of rampart 2, and nos. 5, 6, and 8 from the slip of rampart 2. As the inner face of rampart 2 was brought to the edge of the quarry ditch, it probably slipped at once, and the sherds from the slip therefore originate from the body of the rampart and are pre-rampart 2.

1. Ribbed sherd of grey ware with brown surface. This is the only sherd which Mr. Piggott considers might be of Bronze Age date, and gives as a possible parallel a furrowed sherd from Cunnington's B. 12, Bradford Peverell, associated with a beaker (Dorchester Museum, unpublished).

¹ A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village* (1911), ii, p. 419 and fig. 149, type C.



1. Limestone revetting wall of rampart 2

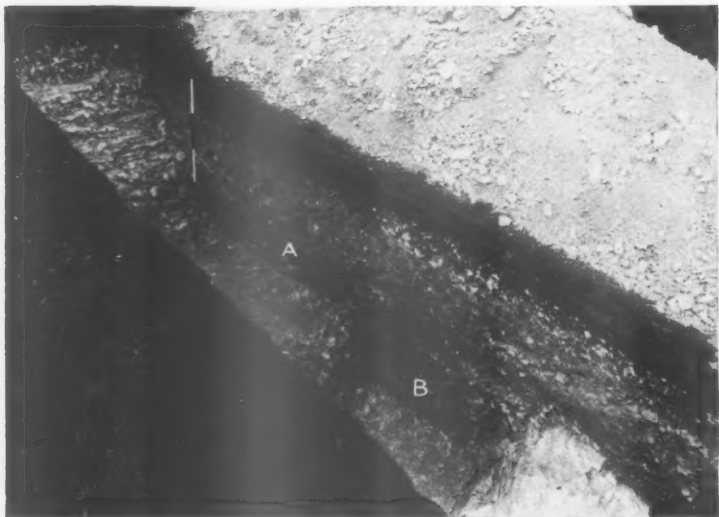


(Photo: O. C. Vidler)

2. Section across Roman aqueduct, (A), and Iron Age ditch (B), exposed in railway-cutting, July 1918



1. Site F. Section through the Roman aqueduct west of Poundbury



2. Site E. Section showing the Roman aqueduct (A), cut through the filling of the Iron Age Ditch, (B)

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Otherwise it must be considered as a fragment of an Iron Age A furrowed bowl, similar to the devolved examples recovered by Miss Liddell from Meon Hill.¹

2. Part of a bowl in hard, fine, grey, haematite-coated ware, ornamented with grooves incised before baking. This is a weaker angled derivative of

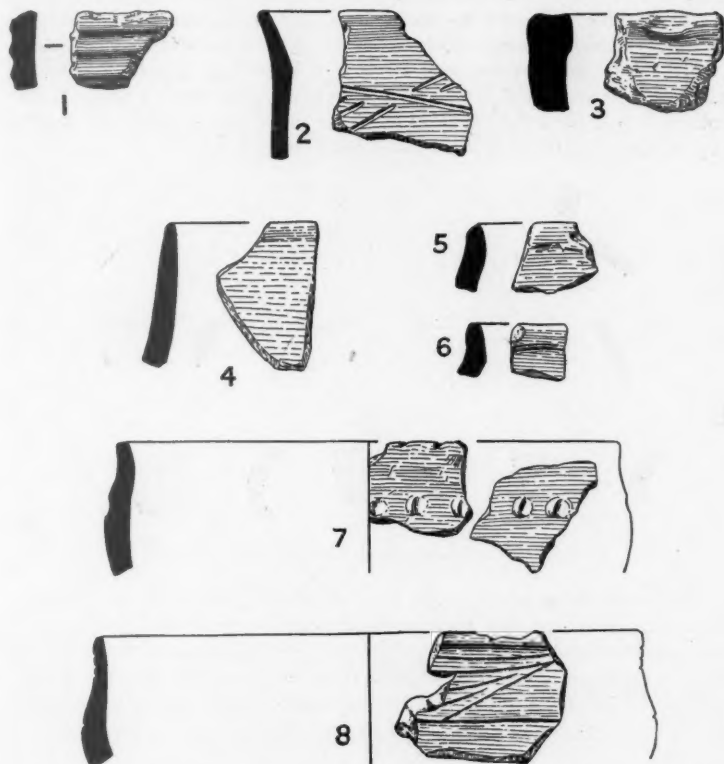


FIG. 5. Pottery from rampart 2 and from turf-line under both ramparts ($\frac{1}{2}$)

the Hengistbury Head² and All Cannings Cross³ bowls with 'baton-rompu' decoration.

3. Sherd with finger-tip impression on lip of rim, in coarse grey-brown ware with large grits.

4, 5, 6. Rims of vessels in brown sandy ware.

¹ *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xli (1933), fig. xi, p. 23.

² J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Hengistbury Head in 1911-12* (Soc. Ant. Lond. 1915), pl. xvi, 5.

³ All Cannings Cross, pl. 28, 3 and 10.

7. Rim of vessel in coarse brown ware decorated on rim with finger-nail, and on shoulder with finger-tip impressions (cf. *Hengistbury Head*, pl. xvi, 10 and 12).

8. Part of a bowl of hard, sandy, grey ware containing fine flint grits, and with a smooth grey-brown surface. An irregular groove defines the rim, and the space between rim and shoulder is ornamented with a finely incised pattern. Though no exact parallel can be found for this bowl, the swing of the incised decoration is suggestive of Iron Age B style of ornament.

Nos. 2-7 represent the total of rims of Iron Age A pottery from the rampart, and none was found in the ditches. Apart from a gouge-shaped tool of B type from the filling of the inner ditch, no. 8 is the only possible representative of the B culture recovered from the site.

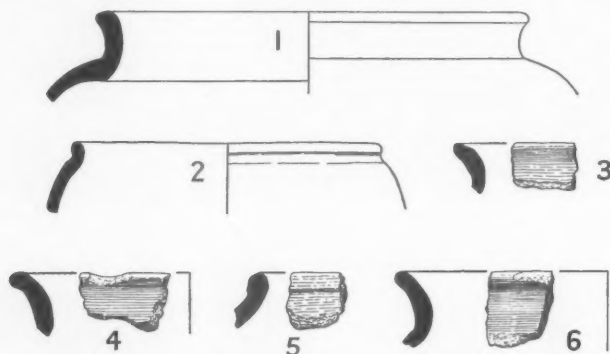


FIG. 6. Pottery from Belgic levels in outer and inner ditches (§)

The weak angles of nos. 2 and 7 are in favour of a middle A dating for the group. The fact that it cannot be exactly paralleled at Maiden Castle also suggests that this pottery is earlier than that associated with the earliest phase of construction on that site; for it seems improbable that the pottery made at Poundbury should not have been influenced by the Maiden Castle forms, had these been of contemporary manufacture.

(Fig. 6) *Pottery from Belgic Levels in the outer and inner ditch*

Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5 from layer 6 of the outer and inner ditch; nos. 4 and 6 from layer 5 of the outer ditch.

1. Rim of jar in good pale brown ware with brown polished surface.

2. Bead-rim bowl of hard grey ware with black polished surface.

3. Rim of jar of similar ware to no. 2.

4 and 6. Rims of two jars of hard grey ware with highly polished black surface.

5. Degenerate bead rim of grey ware with dull rough grey surface.

The pottery from layers 5 and 6 is not typologically different and analogies to this group can be found in the Belgic levels at Maiden Castle. Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 6 belong to the same type of jar, while no. 2 finds parallels in the War

Cemetery series of bead-rim bowls. Bowls of this type are common to Dorset and examples from Jordan Hill, Poole, etc., may be seen in the Dorchester Museum. They have also been found in Somerset at Ham Hill, and as far west as Hembury Fort and Exeter. The sherd from the ditch bottom (not illustrated) appears to be part of the neck of a jar similar to nos. 3, 4, and 6. The pottery from layer 5 was associated with a brooch of a type found at Maiden Castle and there dated to A.D. 25-60. As, however, no Samian was recovered below layer 4, the group may be said to fall between A.D. 25 and 43.

(Fig. 7) *Pottery from Roman Levels in the inner, outer, and quarry-ditches*

Nos. 1, 3, 4, 8 and 6, 9, 10 from layer 4 of the inner and outer ditch respectively. Nos. 11 and 12 from layers 3 and 2 of the inner ditch, 5, and 7 from the re-cut quarry-ditch.

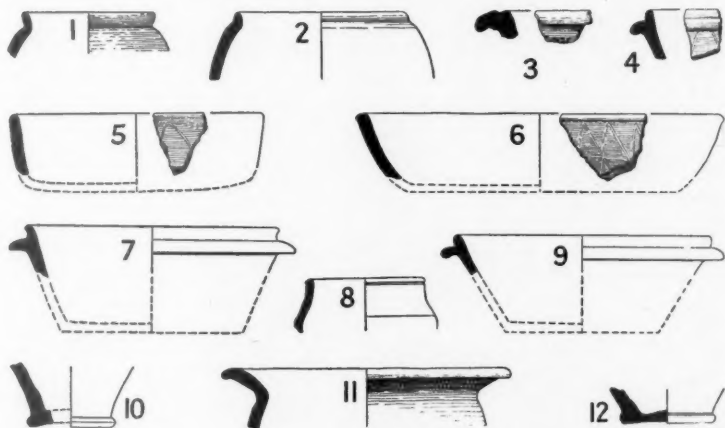


FIG. 7. Pottery from Roman levels in outer, inner, and quarry-ditches (1)

1. Rim of small bowl of hard grey ware with black surface. This Belgic pottery is a stray.

2. Bead-rim bowl of brown ware with smooth surface. Found in the re-cut of the quarry-ditch. This bowl is of the Maiden Castle War Cemetery type, cf. fig. 6, no. 2, but there is no distinct Belgic layer in the re-cut quarry-ditch.

3. Rim of flanged bowl in grey ware with rough, reddish surface.

4. Part of flanged bowl of grey ware with smooth black surface, decorated with a wavy burnished line.

5. Black bowl of grey ware with polished surface, decorated with a wavy burnished line.

6. Same as above, but with slight projecting rim.

7 and 9. Flanged bowls of grey ware. No. 7, with smooth brown surface, from the quarry-ditch; no. 9 with black polished surface.

8, 10, and 12. Neck and two bases of New Forest Ware beakers in fairly soft grey ware, with dark purple-brown mat surface over an orange under-skin.

11. Cavetto rim of jar in grey ware with brown surface. This wide-spreading rim is usually assigned to the first half of the fourth century A.D., but is found on sites of earlier date in the New Forest.

The Roman pottery from layers 4, 3, and 2 from the ditches is so similar that it can be treated as a single unit. A direct parallel to the group is to be found amongst the pottery in Mr. Sumner Heywood's report on his excavations of the Kilns at Slodden and Linwood.¹ These sites represent his middle period, more closely defined by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes as falling between the years A.D. 290 and A.D. 330.²

During this phase in the development of the industry, purple-coated beakers and thumb pots begin to appear, but they are rare and their paste is soft as compared with the metallic ware of the late period. At Poundbury, fragments of beakers of the same, relatively soft-cored, ware are fairly numerous and are identical with beaker fragments found inside a water-jar at Linwood.³ The associated 'radiate' coin of Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 268-70) is not out of place in this group, which may with certainty be ascribed to the early fourth century A.D.

The Human Remains

A Romano-British inhumation burial of the fourth century A.D. was discovered at the north-east corner of the camp, as noted above (p. 431). The body, which had originally been placed in a wooden coffin, lay extended on its back with head towards the west (285°) and reposing on its right cheek, chin on shoulder. The legs were straight, the right arm was stretched along the right side with the hand on the pelvis, and the left arm was flexed with the forearm across the lumbar vertebrae.

Report by Dr. A. J. E. Cave

(Arnott Demonstrator and Assistant Conservator of the Museum, Royal College of Surgeons of England)

The skeleton is that of a young man of short stature (5 ft. 2 in.)—aged about 30 years at the time of death: the several bones are all healthy and well formed, and there is no trace of pathological change on the various articular surfaces.

Skull. The cranium is mesaticephalic (cephalic index = 76.9) with full, rounded brow region and a prominent ('bossed') supra-inial occiput, the latter rendered the more emphatic by reason of a slight but distinct flattening of

¹ *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites* (1927), pl. xviii, 1-3, xvii, 9, 19, xxiv, 5.

² *Antiq. Journ.* xviii (1938), 127.

³ *Ibid.*, 126 and pl. xxxv, 4, 5, 8, and 9.



View of the Roman Aqueduct looking up the valley of the Frome from the north-west corner of Poundbury

the vault in the obelionic region. The lateral cranial walls are generally convex outwards and the temporal fossae are consequently shallow. The coronal suture is closed but not obliterated, the sagittal is obliterated posteriorly, and the lambdoid, containing numerous Wormian bones, is also open. The mastoids are rough, large, and prominent, and each is divided suturally. Bilaterally an occipital hypochordal element occurs in front of each occipital condyle, in the shape of a short, curved, raised, bony bar with a tubercular medial termination. The digastric fossa appears to have been relatively shallow. The orthognathous facial skeleton reveals incipient brow ridges, ovo-rectangular, moderate-sized orbits, a short, compressed, and prominent nasal bridge, a narrow pyriform aperture, and very emphatic canine fossae. The palate is of good size and is well arched. A full complement of maxillary teeth remained *in situ* at the time of death. The right upper 1st molar is represented by a mere carious shell, and the alveolar bone adjacent reveals signs of a former apical abscess. The opposed surfaces of the two right upper premolars are excavated by dental caries. The following teeth are rotated to the line of the arch: the right canine, the left lateral incisor, canine, and 1st premolar. Signs of parodontal disease are absent. The mandible presents a salient, pointed chin, and a relatively narrow, vertically disposed ascending ramus. The right mandibular 1st and 3rd molar teeth have been lost before death: the left central incisor is rotated to the line of the arch: there are no signs of caries or of parodontal disease in these lower teeth. Osteometric cranial data are appended to these notes.

Axial skeleton. Vertebral formula normal—C. 7, D. 12, L. 5, S. 5, Cocc.? Atlas with ununited posterior arch (*spina bifida occulta*). The fifth lumbar vertebra manifests an interesting anatomical variation: its neural arch is independent of the main mass of the bone, the line of cleavage lying between the superior and inferior articular processes on each side. This separate neural arch is in two pieces (each comprising part of the lamina, the inferior articular process, and half the spinous process) which in life were united mid-dorsally by fibrous tissue. The condition is congenital and quite symptomless.

All the ribs are present: they are delicately fashioned bones, and quite normal in every respect. Of the sternum the gladiolus alone remains.

Upper limbs. The sternal epiphysis of each clavicle has not yet completely fused with the shaft. The scapulae call for no comment. Each humerus presents a very prominent lesser tuberosity, but otherwise its markings are not unusual. The radii and ulnae are well-marked bones, as are those of the carpus and the digits.

Lower limbs. The pelvis presents male characters. The line of union of the iliac crest epiphysis is still faintly visible, also that of the epiphysis of the pubo-ischial ramus.

The femora are platymeric, with pronounced secondary markings at their extremities: the linea aspera is, however, but faintly developed, though an emphatic gluteal ridge is present. The platycnemic tibiae show each a sharp sinuous and prominent crest, a well-developed tubercle, and 'clean cut' vigorous articular extremities. The foot bones are all normal and require no special mention.

Osteometric Data

| <i>Skull</i> | mm. | | <i>Indexes</i> | mm. |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Length | 186 | Cephalic | 76.9 | Mesaticephalic |
| Parietal breadth | 143 | " height | 74.2 | Orthocephalic |
| Min. frontal breadth | 93 | Gnathic | 91.3 | Orthognathous |
| (Basion-bregma) | 138 | Facial | 73.2 | Chamaeprosop |
| Auricular height | 113 | Nasal | 47.1 | Leptorhine |
| (Basion-prosthion) | 89.5 | Orbital | 70.3 | Chamaeconch |
| (Basion-nasion) | 98.0 | | | |
| (Nasion-gnathion) | 111.0 | | | |
| (Nasion-prosthion) | 65.5 | | | |
| Facial breadth | 89.5 | | | |
| (Nasal height) | 47.1 | | | |
| (Nasal breadth) | 22.2 | | | |
| Orbital width | 44.2 | | | |
| Orbital height | 31.1 | | | |
| Palatal breadth | 44.4 | | | |
| Palatal length | — | | | |
| Bizygomatic breadth | 133 | | | |

Long bones

| | mm. |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Length of femur | 419 |
| " " tibia | 328 |
| " " humerus | 308.5 |
| " " ulna | 248 |
| " " radius | 226 |

Estimated stature

1578.5 mm. 5 ft. 2 in.

The Cluniac Priory of St. James at Dudley

By C. A. R. RADFORD, F.S.A.

THE ruins of Dudley Priory lie a short distance north of the town in the valley below the castle. The surrounding grounds belonged to a house recently acquired by the Borough Council. They have been laid out as a public park, and the plan included the clearance and preservation of the monastic remains, a task which was entrusted to the Ancient Monuments Branch of H.M. Office of Works. In the course of the clearance small trial excavations were undertaken in order to explore the earlier history of the conventual buildings. The results of these excavations and the following survey of the architectural remains are recorded by the courtesy of the Town Council of Dudley and of the Office of Works. In particular I am indebted to the Borough Surveyor and to Mr. A. Heasman, then Chief Architect in charge of Ancient Monuments. I have also to thank the Office of Works for the plan and the photographs which illustrate this paper, while in the preparation of the text I owe much to Dr. Rose Graham, F.S.A., and to Mr. A. W. Clapham, President of the Society of Antiquaries.

The honour and manor of Dudley together with other estates in Worcestershire were granted by William the Conqueror to Ansculf of Picquigni, one of his Picard followers.¹ In 1086 Ansculf had already thrown up a castle at Dudley² in order to protect the centre of his extensive holdings. In the early years of the twelfth century these lands had passed to Fulk Paganell, who is thought to have acquired possession by marriage with the daughter and heiress of Ansculf's son William. Fulk's son Ralf, who held Dudley for the Empress Matilda during the civil war of Stephen's reign, died before 1160 and was succeeded by his son Gervase, who lived until 1194.

Early in his tenure Gervase in fulfilment of his father's intention founded a small priory of Cluniac monks. The community was a daughter of Much Wenlock, the great Shropshire house which Roger de Montgomery, the first Norman earl of Shrewsbury, had refounded and affiliated to the Cluniac Order.³ The

¹ The honour and manor of Dudley are treated in *V.C.H. Worcestershire*, iii, 90, and William Salt Society, *Historical Collections*, ix, part ii; the Priory in *V.C.H. Worcestershire*, ii, 158.

² *Arch. Journ.* lxxi, 1.

³ *Archaeologia*, lxxii, 105.

year of the foundation of Dudley is unknown, but the phrasing of Gervase's charter¹ suggests a date soon after his father's death, and a confirmation² to the house of the church of Wombourn belongs to the episcopate of William Durdent, who held the see of Lichfield and Coventry from 1149 to 1160. A bull of Pope Lucius III (1181-5)³ records the early possessions of the priory, which included the churches of Dudley and of other parishes and small estates in the vicinity.

The modest scale of these possessions is reflected in the earliest buildings revealed by the recent excavations. The church was planned as an aisleless cruciform structure with a short apsidal presbytery and eastern apses to the transepts. The south transept (pl. LXXVI, 2), much of which survives, has walls of local limestone rubble with an external plinth and dressings of coarse yellow sandstone. Broad clasping buttresses with an ashlar facing, also of sandstone, mark the outer angles. The opening into the apse is 11 ft. wide. The lower courses of the responds remain with a semi-circular engaged column standing on a simple moulded base of late Norman date. The upper part of the columns and the capitals have been torn away, but the simple chamfered cornice marks the spring of the arch. The existing arch, which is roughly built and pointed, is a late reconstruction, probably dating from the eighteenth century, when additional height would have been required in the upper storey of the cottage built into the transept.⁴ The apse itself was demolished when the chapel east of the transept was built *circa* 1400, but the semicircular foundation uncovered during the excavations has been outlined on the site. Only the external splays of the embrasures can now be traced in the two breaks in the southern wall, which show the position of the round-headed windows shown in an eighteenth-century engraving.⁵ Internally a chamfered plinth marks the base of the eastern wall, but does not continue along the other sides. The arch into the crossing was of two members rising from piers with a chamfered base. A similar base indicates the southern piers of the arch separating the crossing from the eastern arm of the church, but there is no trace of a similar division towards the nave. The north side of the crossing, together with the greater part of the quire and the north transept, were cut away when a sunk avenue to the modern house was driven across the site.

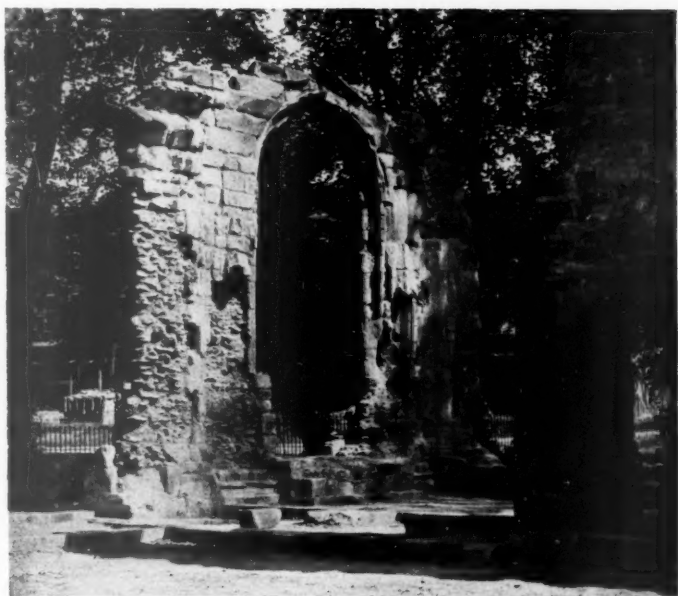
¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v, 83.

² Eardeswick, *Survey of Staffordshire*, p. 341.

³ Dugdale, *op. cit.* v, 83; Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, 14665 (16 June 1182).

⁴ Shown in a print of 1774, Prattinton Collection, no. 16 (Society of Antiquaries).

⁵ Prepared for the *Universal Magazine* before 1772.



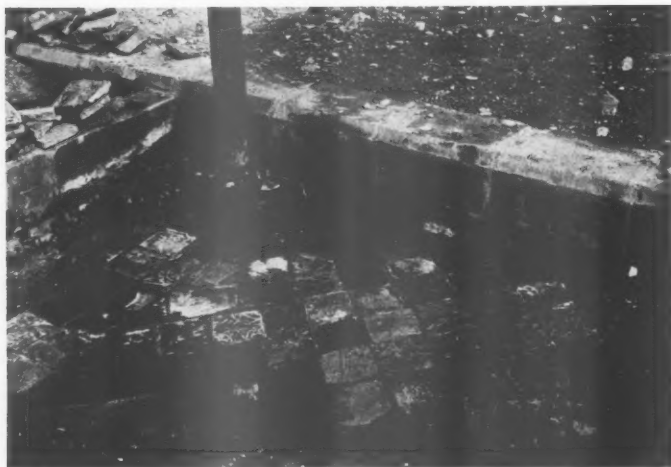
1. South Chapel: Dudley Priory



2. South Transept: Dudley Priory



1. Nave and Quire looking east: Dudley Priory



2. Tiles on south side of Chancel: Dudley Priory

Traces of the return wall of the presbytery were found on the south, about 15 ft. east of the crossing. These continued as a semicircular disturbance suggesting the foundation trench of an apse 19 ft. across. This was followed to beyond the central line of the church, where it was cut through by the modern drive. There was no foundation along the chord of the apse, where a grave has been dug in undisturbed soil on the axis of the later quire. This foundation trench is shown on the plan, as further excavations failed to reveal any trace of an alternative eastern end to the Norman church. Of the north transept the base of the eastern angle, with a chamfered plinth and a clasping buttress, remains. The plinth was traced southward to a point marking the spring of the apse. The line of the north wall was shown by rubble masonry. In the eastern angle was a semicircular stair which probably formed the night stair to the dormer. No evidence of the contemporary nave was found. The lower part of the existing north wall is of ruder masonry, and antedates the south and west walls which form a homogeneous structure of the thirteenth century. The twelfth-century masonry on the south stops at the angle of the transept, and the same probably happened on the north, though the destruction of the wall at this point makes certainty impossible. It must therefore be concluded that the nave of the conventual church was never constructed by the Norman builders, and that a monastic quire consisting of the crossing alone was found sufficient for the small community of that period.¹

The eastern range, which can be traced by the lowest courses of masonry and the foundations, also appears to belong to this early period. There is no break in the masonry of the east wall of the cloister which would mark the angle of the transept, and the simple opening into the dayroom has ashlar dressings like those of the south transept. But a slight priority must be allowed to the church, as the east wall of the range oversails the plinth of the transept with a straight joint against the masonry above. The chapter-house is small without an eastern projection, and the destruction of the masonry has removed all trace of the entrance and of other details. The dayroom is exceptionally large, and the lowest courses of the doorway are the only details surviving. The

¹ A twelfth-century deed shows that Osbert, the prior, and two other monks then formed a perfect convent. Instances of incomplete monastic churches surviving till the Reformation are provided by the Cistercian abbey of Cymmer (*Official Guide: H.M. Office of Works*) and the Augustinian priory of Frithelstock (*Devon Archaeological Exploration Society*, ii, 20). In both cases the nave alone was completed and served the whole needs of the community until the Dissolution.

rere-dorter lay in the normal position at the far end of this range. There are traces of the arched opening which carried the drain under the western wall. The drain was flushed by water carried from the valley east of the church, but these arrangements can no longer be followed. The original walling of the whole eastern range nowhere rises more than 1 ft. 6 in. above ground-level. Many of the walls had been reused as foundations for an eighteenth-century factory to which belonged numerous partitions and other walls now removed. These late alterations could be distinguished by the rough rubble masonry laid in black ash mortar, and the dressings of brick.

The aisleless cruciform plan adopted at Dudley occurs in other small alien priories. At Stanesgate¹ the aisleless nave, part of the chancel, and the spring of the north transept can be traced. At Tickford² it is clear that the original church had an aisleless nave, as old drawings show the external Norman stringcourse still in position above the western arches of the arcade.

The three walls forming the other sides of the cloister appear to be of the same rough construction, rubble-built of local limestone with many irregular fragments of yellow sandstone. There is no detail, but on the south the wall still stands to a height of about 12 ft., above which is the normal thirteenth-century masonry like that of the other walls of the nave. The top of the older work is marked by the weathering of the pent roof, and it may be concluded that these walls enclosing the cloister were built about 1200. Rough foundations of the inner wall and the absence of any dressed fragments suggest that the original wooden cloister was never rebuilt in stone.

The north wall of the cloister, which has a straight joint against the eastern range, stands a few inches high. The opposite wall of the northern range is even more destroyed, but such fragments as remain suggest that it is contemporary and that this building forming the frater was added at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. An added external buttress is medieval but cannot be more closely dated.

Gervase Paganell died in 1194, his only son Robert having predeceased him. The honour of Dudley then passed to Ralph the son of his sister and heiress Hawise by her first marriage to John de Somery.³ From Ralph, Dudley passed to his son William,

¹ *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex, S.E.*, 151.

² *Records of Bucks.* xi. 165.

³ Pipe Roll 6 Ric. I (Pipe Roll Society, 74). The relationship is established by Pipe Roll 10 Ric. I (*ibid.* 122), where Gervase is spoken of as uncle (*avunculus*) of Ralph.

whose son Nicholas died without issue in 1229. Roger the younger son of Ralph succeeded his nephew.¹ He lived until 1272 and his lands passed to his son, another Roger, who died in 1291.² The second Roger was buried in the conventual church of Dudley, and Bishop Roger of Coventry granted an indulgence of forty days to all who should say a *Pater noster* and an *Ave* for the repose of his soul.³ This was subsequently confirmed by Pope Boniface VIII.⁴

The thirteenth century saw the completion and extension of the priory church and buildings, a process carried out largely through the munificence of the family of Somery. An aisleless nave (pl. LXXVII, 1) was added to the incomplete Norman church during the first half of the century, and the western range was completed at the same time or a little later. In the second half of the century the quire of the monastic church was lengthened and the apse replaced by a square end more usual at that date.

The north wall of the nave was formed by the earlier wall of the cloister, which was heightened above the weathering covering the pent roof. The south (pl. LXXVIII, 1) and west walls and the added part of the north wall are built of roughly coursed limestone rubble. Buttresses flank the west front. They have quoins and a capping of yellow sandstone. Two similar buttresses on the south side balance the flat Norman buttress in the angle of the transept. They are built of limestone with a plinth and capping of sandstone. The west door (pl. LXXVIII, 2) has a two-centred arch with three recessed members. It was covered by a porch with a high-pitched gabled roof. The base of the weathering remains, but the apex was cut away when the great west window was inserted in the fourteenth century. The sandstone of which the doorway is built is much decayed and retains no traces of the original ornament. In many places the perished stones have been roughly replaced by other blocks. An external stringcourse of sandstone marks the level of the sill of the windows on the south and west sides, the former being at the same height as the weathering of the cloister roof. Originally there were four narrow lancets with deep sloping sills on each side of the nave. In most cases the lower part of the opening can be traced under the wider windows inserted in the

¹ *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, 1227-31, p. 190.

² *Inquisitiones post mortem*, 1 Edw. I (Aug.) and 19-20 Edw. I (*Calendar of Inquisitions*, ii, no. 16, 813).

³ Dugdale, *op. cit.* v, 84. The date, anno domini mccc et consecrationis nostrae xxxiii, indicates Jan. 1291. Bishop Roger was consecrated on 10th March 1258 (Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, 61). This must be a mistake, as Roger de Somery died in the autumn of 1291.

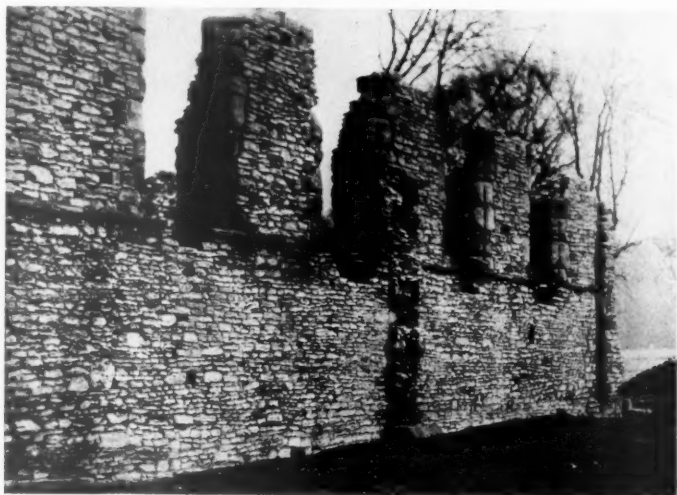
⁴ Dugdale, *op. cit.* v, 84.

following century. The west wall probably had three narrow lancets, the external splays of the outer openings being retained to form the splays of the later window. The west processional door into the cloister is narrow with the door set on the inner face and opening towards the cloister. There is no trace of a second doorway which must have been placed in the destroyed west wall of the transept.

Only the lowest courses of the western range remain. The masonry of the south end was formerly continuous with that of the church, but at a later date, probably within the middle ages, this wall was demolished and the ragged end faced with masonry on the line of the western buttress of the nave. A door on the upper floor towards the cloister must have been reached by a wooden stair. The simple jambs of sandstone are like those of the processional entrance. The west face of the range is divided by five shallow buttresses, of which the last, together with the whole north end, was cut away by the nineteenth-century drive.

This drive ran along the centre of the quire of which only the south wall is preserved. The position of the other sides is fixed by the rough foundations uncovered on the line of the north wall and by the south-east angle with its buttress flanking the eastern wall. The south wall has been much altered, but fragments are preserved to a considerable height. The masonry is similar to that of the nave. There were probably four windows, each of two lights. Counting from the west the eastern splay of the second window may be noted opposite the cross wall dividing the later south chapel, and the western splay of the last window is level with the eastern wall of that building. The sill of the former is set high in the wall to avoid the back of the wooden stalls. Traces of sedilia survive beside the eastern step, and the rise of the moulding at this point shows that the original arrangement had a step in the same position, though the floor-level was then lower.

An Early English capital with stiff foliage (pl. LXXIX, 1), now preserved in the modern house, probably came from the sedilia. The ornament may be dated after rather than before the middle of the century. Numerous thirteenth-century slip tiles were found reused in the pavement of the quire (pl. LXXVII, 2). Many show a shield with two lions passant, the arms of Somery. Twenty-five feet east of the crossing a large grave had been dug in the centre of the quire. The sides were much fallen in, but the excavation was over 9 ft. long. It lay under or very close to the position assigned to the Norman altar and can hardly antedate the extension of the chancel. The position would suggest a founder's tomb, and the indulgences



1. South wall of Nave: Dudley Priory



2. West front of Church: Dudley Priory



1. Capital, probably from sedilia: Dudley Priory



2. Effigy of a Prior: Dudley Priory

granted in favour of Sir Roger de Somery suggest that the tomb was his. Eardeswick,¹ writing *circa* 1580, describes a large coffin 8 ft. long. It was of freestone, and with it went an effigy 'cross-legged and very old' and gilt; 'and in the gold a hinder leg and a piece of the tail of a blue lion which also a man might discover to be present and that by the space of the place it was contained in there must necessarily be two lions—so that thereby you may perceive it was a Somery. . . .'² The coffin is probably that still preserved in the house which measures 7 ft. 2 in. internally. The general character of the building and the capital from the sedilia indicate the second half of the thirteenth century and would agree with the ascription to the second Sir Roger de Somery, who held Dudley from 1272 to 1291.

Roger de Somery's son John was the last of the male line of this family to hold Dudley. In 1323 the estates at Dudley and the advowson of the priory were assigned as part of her share to his sister Margaret, who had married John de Sutton.³ The Suttons, who were later summoned to Parliament as barons of Dudley, retained the castle until the sixteenth century. During this period the priory, though a daughter house of Wenlock, an alien priory, was closely dependent on the lords of the barony. This dual relationship is shown by the provision that the prior is to be appointed by the prior of Wenlock, but that the temporalities of the house pass to the lords of Dudley during a vacancy.⁴ On account of this dependency the priory escaped the confiscations which many alien houses suffered during the Hundred Years War. The properties, which in 1291⁵ had been assessed at £38. 4s. 8d., were valued in 1536 at £34. 1s. 4d.⁶ The community remained small. A report of the fifteenth century notes that there should be four monks at the priory celebrating daily two masses, one with music.⁷

The rebuilding of the quire by Roger de Somery marks the greatest prosperity of the house. The only known addition to the buildings during the following centuries was the south chapel, other work being confined to minor alterations and probably the demolition of the west range. Although the greater part of the conventual buildings are ruined, it can safely be said that all had

¹ Quoted in Twamley, *History of Dudley Castle and Priory*, 111.

² The arms of Somery are Or two lions passant azure.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1318–23, p. 630.

⁴ *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1408–13, p. 395, and 1413–16, p. 304.

⁵ *Taxatio ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae*, 217, 228, 243, and 251 (Record Commission).

⁶ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iii, 104 (Record Commission).

⁷ Duckett, *Charters and Records of the Abbey of Cluni*, ii, 213.

been erected before this date, and though alterations may have taken place an extensive rebuilding seems to be excluded.

The early lancets of the nave were replaced by larger windows. Those in the side walls were of two lights with dressings of sandstone. The simple tracery shown in Buck's drawing (1731) might well be as early as 1291, but another engraving¹ suggests a rather later date, and it is perhaps wiser to ascribe the whole of this alteration to the middle of the fourteenth century, the date of the flowing tracery in the six-light window at the west end also shown in Buck's drawing. To the same century belongs the small sacristy added on the south side of the quire. The door leading to this was contrived east of the sedilia. The stopped and chamfered jamb remains. The opening was blocked and the sacristy demolished when the south chapel was built, and only the foundations of the south and east walls were found.

About 1400 a large south chapel (pl. lxxvi, 1) was added. The wall of the quire was thickened externally, blocking all windows on this side except the last. The eastern end abutted immediately west of this window blocking the door of the sacristy, which was razed to the ground. The side wall ran immediately south of the opening to the Norman apse, which was demolished to provide access from the transept to the new chapel. The entrance from the quire and the arrangement of the windows is uncertain, and later alterations and demolitions have destroyed much of the evidence. Only an external door and an octagonal turret, with stairs leading to the roof, survive in the centre of the south wall. The masonry west of this turret shows that there were two two-light windows between it and the transept, and these would have been balanced by a similar pair in place of the existing inserted openings. The eastern wall was flanked by two elaborate canopied niches, and their cramped position against the jambs of the inserted Perpendicular window postulates a narrower original opening. The western part of the quire wall behind the stalls remained a blank, but the eastern end would have been pierced by a door leading from the sanctuary into the chapel, though the care taken to provide a western access is evidence against wide arched openings like those later inserted. This western entrance was from the transept through the unaltered arch of the Norman apse, and access to this was afforded by a doorway with stopped and chamfered jambs cut through the western wall.

The masonry of the south chapel is a fine red sandstone ashlar carefully dressed. Externally the base of the walls is marked by a plinth with an ogee moulding. The side walls are lined with

¹ Engraved before 1772 for the *Universal Magazine*.

low benches. The eastern niches are of Perpendicular character; the added door to the transept and the remains of the south doorway and turret, including a window shown in an engraving of 1770,¹ are all of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The elaborate carving of the niches suggests a building of importance. In the absence of documentary evidence it may be suggested that it was designed as a Lady Chapel, the site south of the quire being chosen instead of the more normal easterly extension, as there was low ground in this direction.²

The final alterations came one hundred years later, when the south chapel and possibly the quire were remodelled and re-decorated. The chapel was divided into two by a cross wall placed west of the staircase turret, and the eastern part was covered with a flat stone vault of three bays, springing from angle piers and corbels. Corresponding to the two eastern bays, wide arches were cut through the wall separating the chapel from the quire. The western bay was pierced by a small oggee-headed doorway, probably to avoid disturbing the end of the stalls. A diagonal buttress was added to the south-east corner and similar buttresses placed opposite the transverse ribs in order to take the thrust of the vaulting. The east and the two south windows were enlarged, the new jambs having deep cavetto mouldings internally and externally. The eastern window, of which the opening remains, had five lights with Perpendicular tracery,³ while those on the south were of three lights. At the same time the floor-level was raised and a new altar placed against the south wall. The oggee-shaped leaded roof shown above the stair turret probably dates from the same reconstruction.⁴

The western part of the chapel, cut off by the blank transverse wall, seems to have been disused. At the same time the levels at the east end of the quire were raised and the pavement relaid. Many of the tiles are reused from the older pavement of the thirteenth century, but there are also a number of glazed tiles with incised designs. These are unlikely to be as late as 1500 and are also probably reused material, though their original position cannot now be determined. The finer work in the chapel is executed in a fine grained green sandstone which has weathered badly, but in less prominent areas, such as the cross wall east of the transept, miscellaneous material, much of it reused, was

¹ Prattinton Collection, no. 14 (Society of Antiquaries).

² The stream here had been dammed up to form fishponds. The pools could still be seen in 1776 (Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, vi, 52).

³ Prattinton Collection, no. 13 (*circa* 1770) (Society of Antiquaries).

⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 14 (*circa* 1770).

employed. The details of the piers and windows and the tracery shown in the drawing already cited indicate a date about 1500. The alterations closed the separate western access to the chapel while throwing it open to the quire.

Finds from the excavations were scanty. A thirteenth-century capital, the tiles, and the coffin attributed to Roger de Somery have already been mentioned. There is also preserved in the modern house an effigy in the monastic habit (pl. LXXIX, 2), probably a prior of Dudley. The long stiff folds of the drapery indicate a date *circa* 1300.

John, the son of Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, inherited the estates of his fathers in 1532,¹ but quickly alienated them, selling Dudley Castle and many other properties in the district to John Brown of London for the use of his cousin Sir John Dudley, a member of a younger branch of the family settled in Sussex.² Sir John, established in the seat of his ancestors, obtained a grant of the site and possession of Dudley Priory after the Dissolution.³ But although as duke of Northumberland his rise to power was swift, he did not long enjoy these properties. On his execution they reverted to the Crown and were later regranted to Edward Sutton, the son and heir of that John who had alienated them to his cousin.⁴ From that time the priory formed part of the castle property, which descended in the possession of the same family till its recent sale to the Town Council by the earl of Dudley.

The priory was dismantled, and already in 1580 the picture is one of desolation with broken and mouldering effigies lying about the church.⁵ In 1770 the shattered walls were patched into a dwelling for a tanner, and a few years later this was in turn occupied by a thread manufacturer. Contemporary drawings show the small dwelling built into the south transept (see p. 450), and the adjacent parts of the church and brick fillings and dressings of this date still survived when the work of conservation was begun.⁶ Later the buildings were occupied by Mr. Timothy Nicklin, a manufacturer of fire-irons which were polished with ground glass from the works in the town.⁷ To this industrial period belonged the late walls of brick and rough masonry set in ash mortar found covering and incorporating many parts of the

¹ Livery granted 24th July 1532 (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, v, 1207 (48)).

² *Ibid.* xii, 1203 (1537).

³ *Ibid.* xvi, 678 (47).

⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary*, 1554-5, p. 23 (1554).

⁵ Eardeswick quoted in Twamley, *History of Dudley Castle and Priory*, 111.

⁶ Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, vi, 50, pls. 1-2; Prattinton Collection, no. 13 (Society of Antiquaries).

⁷ Information kindly sent by Mr. Herbert Newey, great-grandson of Mr. Nicklin.

monastic ruins, including a large kiln inserted in the west range which has been left *in situ*. Mr. Nicklin was succeeded by his son, who later transferred the works to the bottom of the Minories. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the existing house was built and the site of the ruins thrown into the grounds. The main drive to the house was cut along the north side of the quire, through the crossing, and over the cloister destroyed even the foundations of the walls where the roadway passed.

Further Excavation of La Cotte de St. Brelade, Jersey

By R. R. MARETT, D.Sc., *Rector of Exeter College*
Local Secretary for the Channel Islands

THE Island of Jersey being now (August 1940) in the occupation of the enemy, I should like to put on record the present state of the thus interrupted excavation of the Palaeolithic site known as La Cotte de St. Brelade. Here, as is well known, important finds have been made in the past, notably during the years 1910-16.¹ There was every reason to believe, when operations were suspended in the course of the last Great War, that more remained to be discovered near by; but the far greater bulk of the 'head' covering the untouched parts long deterred us from so laborious and expensive an undertaking. At length in 1936 we were moved to make a fresh start, thanks largely to the generosity of the Royal Society, which made us grants of £50 for two successive years, followed by three more of £25 *per annum*, the last of which could not be used. This money has been entirely spent in securing the expert assistance of quarrymen in charge of Mr. W. Bichard; tools and other material aids being provided at the expense of the Société Jersiaise. There was also, however, much opportunity, if sometimes but little room, to employ a host of energetic amateurs. These in the first year of the work were calculated to have put in 150 days of hard labour, with at least twice as many tons of rock-rubbish sent rolling seaward as the reward of their toil; and subsequent years found them just as numerous and active. As for superintendence, there was more or less of a diarchy, which, let me add, proved an entirely harmonious arrangement. Thus, on the one hand, the grants were made out to me, and the professionals worked under my orders during the month or two of the summer when I could be there daily. Otherwise a few odd days at Christmas, and rather more during the Easter holidays represented my total attendance. I brought my own co-workers with me, my sons and sons-in-law; members of my College, such as Messrs. C. M. Le Quesne, J. le C. Sumner, C. M. de L. Byrde, and F. E. Holman; Mr. H. G. D. Lewin,

¹ See Mrs. Jacquetta Hawkes, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, vol. ii, Société Jersiaise, 1937, 35-52. See also R. R. Marett, *Archaeologia*, lxii, lxiii, lxvii; and (with G. F. B. de Gruchy, the generous owner of the site), *Bulletins de la Société Jersiaise*, xxxviii, xl-xliv.

who was reading Anthropology at Cambridge; and various other young and lusty persons. The other division was under the command of Père Chr. Burdo, S.J., or perhaps I should say of a triumvirate also consisting of Mr. Lomax and Major Godfray, fresh from their exploits at the Pinnacle Settlement;¹ who in their turn brought with them a considerable following, mostly younger Jesuits from the Maison St. Louis. I have no complete list of them by me, but may mention *honoris causa* Rev. J. Boulangé, Rev. M. de Fenoyl, Rev. R. de Fenoyl, Rev. L. Fraisse, Rev. J. Lacroix, Rev. J. Lerelle, Rev. A. Miller, Rev. A. Panon, Rev. Chr. le Bouteiller, Rev. C. de Trogoff, who were French; Rev. V. Bywater, Rev. R. Bulbee, Rev. J. Dinley, and Rev. F. Hamer, English; Rev. J. Petz, American, and Rev. A. Roussos, Greek, all of them members of the Society of Jesus. Of the Frenchmen, the three mentioned last were, I deeply regret to say, drowned together at Easter when exploring the cliffs, not at La Cotte, but farther to the west along the same coast. This second body of workers, though available for only about a couple of days or half-days a week, kept busy more or less all the year round, and was extremely efficient. I am bound to confess that, whereas in regard to muscular achievement there was little to choose between Père Burdo's contingent and mine, he himself was pre-eminent in an intellectual capacity. He was, for instance, responsible for all the measurements on which the exactitude of our methods depended, while his *fidus Achates*, Mr. Lomax, emulated Heath Robinson in the ingenuity of his adaptation of humble means to lofty mechanical ends, producing over a hundred feet of ladders, a self-tipping trolley on rails, and so forth. Finally, we were constantly encouraged by the presence and advice of leading members of the Société Jersiaise, Major Rybot, F.S.A., and Mr. Guiton, the Hon. Secretaries, the latter an admirable photographer, Dr. Mourant and Mr. Robinson, our chief authorities on the local geology, and many others; including Dr. Zeuner, invited by the Société Jersiaise to visit the island at their expense in order to report on the geo-chronological aspects of our work.

To appreciate its nature as well as the attendant difficulties, one must picture a rather complex set of conditions, which, however, conform to structural principles of great simplicity. This is due to the fact that the granite is of a kind that splits into huge rectangular blocks, so that both the main lines of resistance and the effects of erosion, aerial and marine, are indicated with almost mathematical precision. Imagine a T square, the stem pointing roughly south-west towards the sea, and corresponding to a

¹ See Mrs. Hawkes, *ibid.* 160-71.

ravine about 40 ft. wide and 100 ft. in depth. At right angles runs the fault responsible for the sheer face of the main cliff, here some 200 ft. at its highest. To right and left of the ravine, however, protrude immense buttresses forming its perpendicular sides, each about the same breadth as the ravine, and of nearly equal height to the cliff-face, but threatening as it were to lose touch with the latter and share the fate of the very similar mass that the sea must at some time have eaten away from between them. The right-hand, or north-west, buttress is insecurely attached to the cliff by its upper parts, and below is cut clean through to form the cave to which excavation was previously confined—the 'old' cave, as it might be called. The depth of the floor has not been ascertained, though we penetrated here and there, finding traces of organic remains for several feet below our chosen datum-line, 60 ft. above O.D., which coincided with the bottom of the implementiferous bed. The back of the cave was composed of 'head', containing immense blocks, but hardly such as to suggest that a solid wall once stood there. It was at any rate clear that this 'head' had overflowed into the cave to provide the debris covering the palaeolithic remains by as much as from 25 to 40 ft. above datum-line; and this amount proved in all conscience quite enough to tackle, costing at least four years of strenuous labour and a good deal of money, though the results were magnificent.

There remained the back and the other side of the ravine, where it was clear that more finds awaited us. For there were plain signs of a buried recess, out of which, in 1913, Mr. de Gruchy and I at considerable risk—for loose stones rained down on us like a waterfall—extracted a handful of indubitably worked flints, which I exhibited that same year at Geneva.¹ These actually occurred a foot or two below the datum-line found suitable for the old cave, while on the other hand the 'head' at this point rose steeply for over 70 ft. above that level, and, to make matters worse, the left-hand buttress was evidently more rickety than its companion. Moreover this buttress, unlike the other, had broken right away from the cliff in its upper parts, but to the rear (as also at the further side, where there existed a second ravine, relatively shallow and narrow across) it was embedded in 'head' to a point some 10 ft. below maximum height, but so as to form a saddle of considerable extent, which must evidently be examined too. In fact, we formed a resolution, when at length we decided to face this colossal task, to proceed stratigraphically at all costs—in other

¹ See *Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques*, XIV^e Session, Genève, 1913, i, 359-60.

words, to begin at the very top of the 'head', and carry down our level foot by foot across the saddle to the further ravine. Nor did we know then what this job might entail; for the cliff might prove to be considerably undercut, so that there would be more to remove than we counted on, or, conversely, we might hit on obstructions in the way of live rock that, if labour-saving, would at least bring our stratigraphy to naught and complicate the issue.

In the event nothing untoward happened, and the history of our four years' excavation is that of a straightforward removal of an enormous quantity of 'head', which Père Burdo puts at 8,000 tons, and I at perhaps a little less. Thanks to his respect for exact measurements we kept remarkably true to our levels throughout, and, using both ravines as alternate or simultaneous tips, dispatched masses of sterile rubbish seawards, only pausing to investigate each spadeful when, all too rarely, we struck a level where there were indications of archaeological matter. Meanwhile, the deeper we delved among the roots of the left-hand buttress, the more rotten did its foundations appear to be; and there was nothing to be done but again and again to order our quarrymen to attack with dynamite any part that was *jamjam lapsura cadentique adsimilis*. Indeed, the site is at present littered with vast fragments that we were about to clear away when the War intervened, an incidental advantage being that no one in the meantime is likely to tamper with workings so well protected. We always hoped to come upon a cave with a more or less intact roof, as on the opposite side of the ravine; but our latest view was, I think, that in all probability such a roof, if it ever existed, had collapsed, or at least was poised insecurely on props that were no longer equal to their task. Precisely, however, at the moment when the secret was about to be revealed, fate put a sudden stop to a play that was all staged for its fifth and final act.

In conclusion, let me give some account of our gains in the way of archaeological treasure. They amount to very little, but it is only fair to remember that we expected to light on nothing at all until we reached, say, 10 ft. from datum-line, the greatest height at which human remains occurred in the old cave. The top of the deposit masking the back of the main ravine, taken by us as 'zero', was 21.25 m. above datum-line, and from this point down to the 10-m. level (i.e. as measured downwards from zero) the 'head' was quite sterile on this side of the south-east buttress. At the farther side, however, namely, in the superficial layer of humus at the top of the lesser ravine, about 3 or 4 m. below zero, there were signs of some casual interloper of Neolithic or Bronze Age date, whom we merely regarded as a nuisance; for he had

dropped here a very neatly-shaped flint arrow-head (rather a rarity in the Channel Islands), a little coarse pottery, a few flint fragments, and a great many hammer-stones—hardly enough in all to constitute a 'station'. These sparse remains were invariably found near the surface, among the roots of the coarse vegetation that clothed it, and never in the hard yellow loess underneath. To return to the main ravine, we were surprised to come on animal and human remains at the 10-m. level, that is, only about half-way down from our zero point. Hitherto the quarrymen had led the way, stripping the rearward parts—which turned out to be nearly vertical—of cumbrous rock-fragments solidly cemented by loess and very difficult to detach, especially when attacked from below the dangerous overhang; while from the neighbouring buttress it took 14 sticks of gelignite fired at once to demolish a loose and leaning pillar weighing at least 100 tons. Now, however, we must go more slowly, since between 10 and 12 m. there were to be discovered by careful sifting not only some characteristic implements of Mousterian *facies*, provisionally attributed to Würm, Phase I, but a good deal of bone, mostly reindeer and lemming. At 12 m. there occurred lemming in great quantities and spread over a surface extending across the ravine for some 25 ft. It was puzzling to account for these unexpected facts except on the hypothesis of a former land-surface marking a pause in the accumulation of 'head'. The lemming remains, when analysed, will probably yield an approximate date; for Mr. M. A. C. Hinton had already noted¹ that the constituent species of the lemming-bed inside the old cave were slightly earlier in type than some from a somewhat higher level just outside the cave and within the ravine—the spot where Dr. (Mrs.) Dobson discovered the bones of the Great Auk. Unfortunately this lemming-bed at 12 m. proved to be only about 1 ft. deep, and below that point the deposit, as far as my personal observation went, was again sterile down to about 14 m., the lowest point reached as far as I know. Thus just two-thirds of our task is accomplished, and the worst of its dangers surmounted. Whether we, or our younger colleagues, succeed in completing it—though in a sense its completion ought to include the distinct and formidable job of digging down past the palaeolithic floor to rock-bottom—and whether we or they reap a due reward of all this hard but fascinating work, is a matter that rests on the knees of the gods.²

¹ See Mrs. Hawkes, *The Archaeology of the Channel Islands*, vol. ii, 45.

² The only other account of these operations is to be found in R. R. Marett, *Caves and Cave-Hunting*, Jan. 1938.

Excavations at Rams Hill, Uffington, Berks.

By STUART PIGGOTT, F.S.A., and C. M. PIGGOTT

The Site and its Discovery (fig. 1 and pl. LXXXI).

RAMS HILL is an inconspicuous knoll of the Berkshire Downs (Berks. O.S. 6 in. XIX, NW. and NE.) on the ridge overlooking the Vale of the White Horse. It lies within the 700-ft. contour, with the ground sloping gently to the south and falling steeply to 400 ft. on the northern escarpment. To the west, a mile away, the land rises to White Horse Hill, a bluff over 800 ft. high, crowned by the hill-fort of Uffington Castle and with the eponymous turf-cut Horse on the westward slope slightly below.

The Ridgeway runs along the crest of the downs, south of Uffington Castle but on the north edge of Rams Hill, while along the bottom of the escarpment the Ickneild Way winds in and out of the coombes between the 400- and 500-ft. contours.

Attention to the archaeological interest of the hill was first drawn by Dr. G. B. Grundy in 1922, in his examination of the Saxon land-charters of Berkshire (*Berks. Arch. Journ.* xxvii, 162). The great tenth-century grants of land comprised under the modern parishes of Ashbury, Uffington, Woolstone, Kingston Lisle, and Sparsholt present many difficulties in the identification of their boundary marks (e.g. Dr. Grundy confuses the '*Aescaesburh*' of the 953 charter, which must be the hill-fort of Alfred's Castle, with medieval park-enclosure by Ashdown House), but that part which is concerned with the present Uffington-Kingston Lisle parish boundary is fortunately clear. The bounds run from the valley by various landmarks convincingly identified by Dr. Grundy, to the Ickneild Way, thence to Aegelwardes Balk, and along the Balk to the North Gate of the Ravens' Camp—'*and swa andlang Mearce to Hremnes Byrig to than North Geate*'. (Grundy, *loc. cit.* 159; *Berks. Arch. Journ.* xxxi, 36—Sparsholt Charter.) The name of *Hremnes Burh* has become Rams Hill (cf. Ramsbury, Wilts., also originally *Hraemnes Burh*) and Dr. Grundy, inspecting the ground, saw the remains of a ploughed-out rampart encircling the hill across which the boundary ran.

One of us examined the site in 1928, and published a note on it in that year recording Roman pottery scattered over the eastern side of the hill (*Antiquity*, ii, 217-18). Here matters rested until 1936, when Mr. H. J. E. Peake published an air-photograph of the hill taken by Major G. W. G. Allen, which showed not only the earthwork visible on the ground, but another ditch

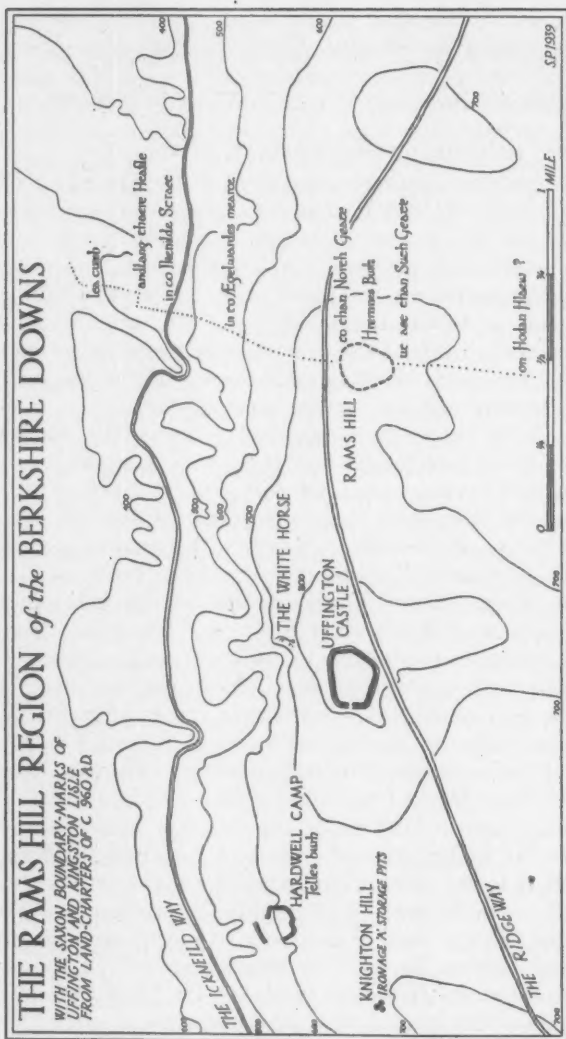
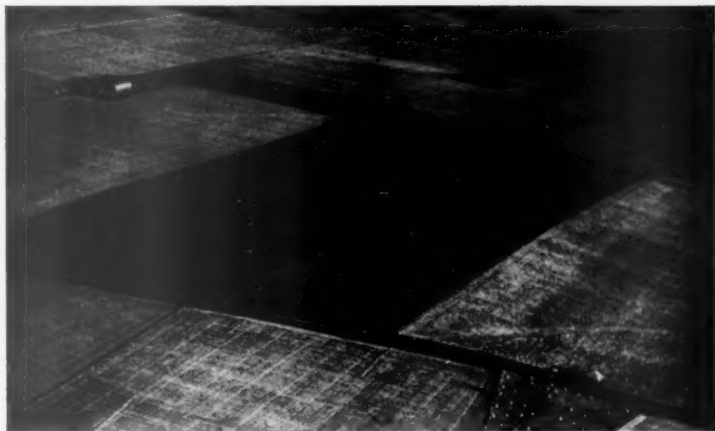
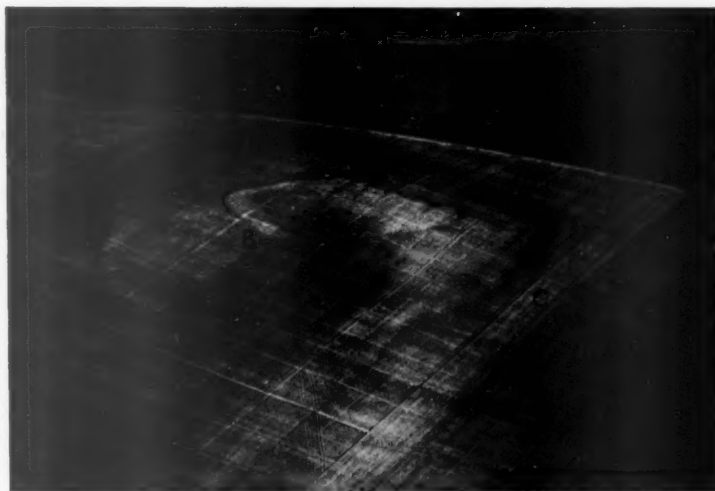


FIG. I



(Photo: Major G. W. G. Allen)

a. Oblique air-view of Rams Hill from the north

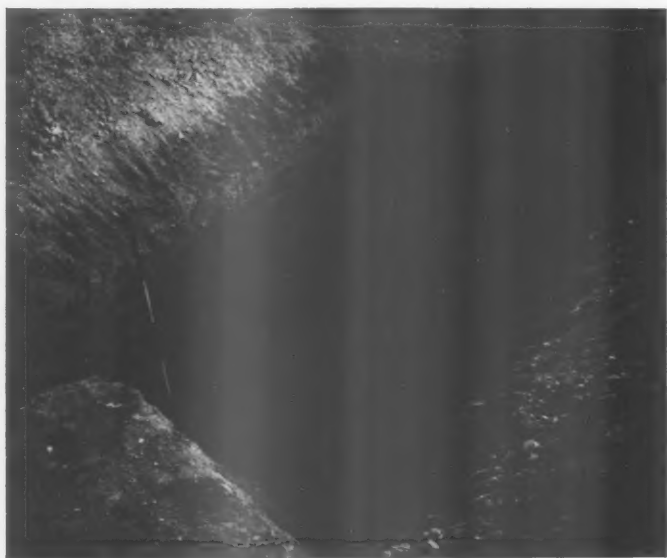


(Photo: Major G. W. G. Allen)

b. Oblique air-view of Rams Hill from the south. A. the Early Iron Age fort,
B. the Middle Bronze Age Enclosure, C. the Roman Enclosure



a. Cutting through the Middle Bronze Age ditch (IV)



b. Cutting through the Hill-fort ditch (VI)

within it, and separated from it by a wide interval, the whole suggesting the possibility of a Neolithic camp of the Windmill Hill type (although Mr. Peake was careful to point out that no causeways interrupting either ditch in the normal Neolithic fashion could be seen; *Trans. Newbury Field Club*, vii, 193-4).

In 1938 the Field Club decided that trial excavations should be made at Rams Hill, to clear up the nature of the site, and we were invited to carry out this work on behalf of the Club. A week's work was done in 1938, and the results made it clear that another season would be needed for the elucidation and amplification of the material thus obtained. Accordingly, a three weeks' excavation was carried out in April 1939, and the results of the two seasons are described below. The writers were jointly in charge of the work, and voluntary assistance was afforded by Miss N. Smith in 1938 and by Mr. P. Warren in 1939. Two men were employed in 1938, four in 1939. The thanks of the Club are also due to the Craven Estate, the owners, and Mr. Muir of Kingston Lisle, the tenant of the land, for ready permission to excavate.

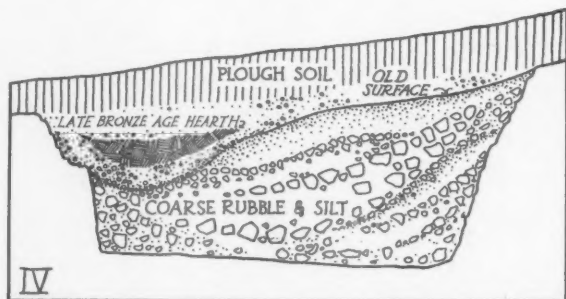
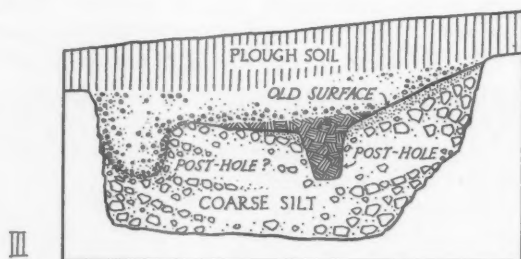
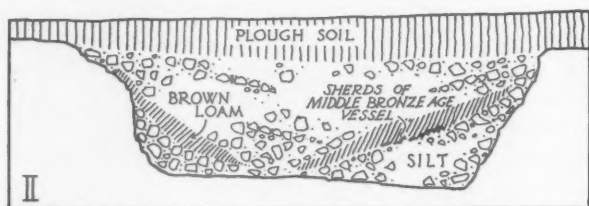
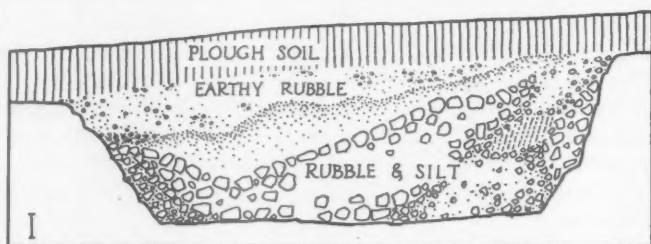
In the brief summary of the 1938 work (*Trans. Newbury Field Club*, viii, 116) it was mentioned that in addition to the two roughly concentric ditches a rectangular enclosure ditch was found on the east of the hill. The structures examined are therefore as follows:

- i. The Inner Enclosure on the hill-top. This was claimed as Neolithic in 1938, but was found in 1939 to be of Middle Bronze Age date, about 1500 B.C.
- ii. The Main (Camp) Enclosure. This, the *Hremnes Burh* of the Saxon charters, was found to be a hill-fort of the Iron Age A culture, about 400 B.C., and apparently left unfinished.
- iii. The Rectangular Enclosure. This had enclosed a settlement, probably a timber-built house, in early Roman times, and in the fifth century A.D. two individuals, one with a number of silver coins, had been buried in the ditch.

The Middle Bronze Age Enclosure (fig. 2; pls. LXXXII, LXXXV).

The air-photograph showed an inner ditch of roughly oval plan enclosing the hill-top, and this was identified in 1938 at one point on the east. A number of unornamented sherds were found on the top of a large deposit of loose rubbly silting and were considered to be Neolithic A, but in 1939 it was found, on cutting a number of sections to trace the circuit of this ditch, that this pottery actually belonged to a Late Bronze Age scatter which

RAMS HILL ~ SECTIONS OF THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE ENCLOSURE DITCH



1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 FEET SP 1958

FIG. 2

yielded more conclusive fragments of pottery of identical ware but with recognizable features of base and rim in other parts of the site.

In all some sixteen sections were dug, establishing the ditch as enclosing an oval area 400 by 270 ft., and by sheer good fortune one trench was cut across an entrance causeway at the southern corner. It was here possible to find the ends of the ditch on either side, but the area was confused by two shallow Roman ditches across it. In view of these, and of the heavy layer of overburden at this spot, the causeway was not cleared but only trenched, but one double post-hole implying replacement of a rotted post was found near the lip of the ditch at its western end. The post-holes were 1 ft. deep and 2 ft. in diameter. There may have been another entrance, but the ditch was certainly not interrupted by frequent causeways in the Neolithic A fashion, for a length of 150 ft. was established as continuous on the north side.

The profile and silting of the ditch were consistent in all the sections dug. The ditch itself was flat-bottomed and almost vertical-sided, varying in width at the top from 12 to 8 ft. and from 3 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. 9 in. deep. The silting consisted of a large proportion of loose clean chalk rubble, often filling the ditch practically level with the surface, with finer silt occupying the uppermost layer or in bands between the coarse rubble. From sections III and IV it was seen that the top of this fine silt formed a surface in Late Bronze Age times, the material above being natural accumulation, and subsequently plough-soil. The tilt in the stratification indicated that the greater bulk of the chalk rubble derived from an internal bank, now wholly ploughed away.

The primary rubble was singularly sterile, datable objects being found in only one section (II), where numerous sherds of a Middle Bronze Age cinerary urn were found scattered along a layer of loamy soil which at this point ran in from both sides of the ditch between two deposits of clean chalk rubble. The position of these sherds makes it clear that they must belong to an early stage in the history of the ditch, before more than the primary silt in the bottom angles had formed.

On the west of the enclosure there was evidence of secondary occupation on top of the fine silt, which was here compact and made into a hard surface. A circular post-hole, 9 in. diam., filled with grey mildewed material, was exposed in section III, cutting through this old surface and penetrating the rubble to a depth of 1 ft. On the outer edge of the ditch was an irregular excavation into the filling, which might have been another post-hole, and in section IV a hearth with Late Bronze Age pottery had been

scooped out partly in the silting and partly in the solid chalk of the side of the ditch in a position equivalent to the dubious post-hole excavation in section III.

As it stands, this Middle Bronze Age hill-top enclosure is without parallel. The square-section ditch recalls those of round barrows

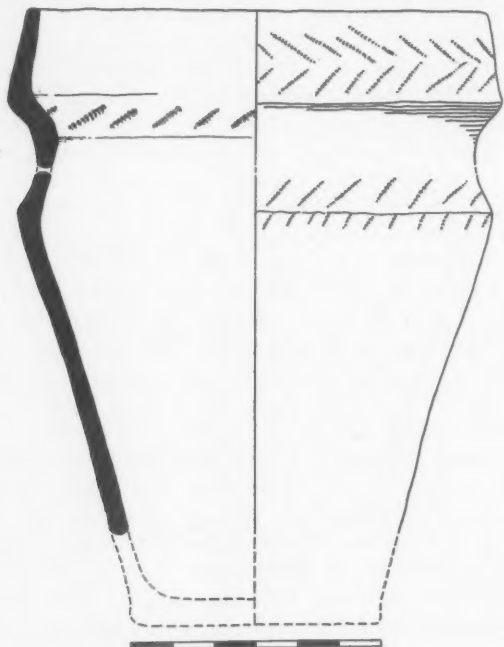


FIG. 3. Middle Bronze Age vessel from Cutting II (4)

and is in the Neolithic A tradition; the V-section type seeming to be introduced by the Late Bronze Age peoples. The absence of occupational debris in the silting implies that the enclosure was for some such purpose as cattle-herding.

The Middle Bronze Age Vessel.

Enough was found to make a reconstructed drawing of the vessel from the primary silt of the ditch (fig. 3). It is a typical member of the Cinerary Urn class, of characteristic soft ware, black inside and buff-red outside. The profile places it early in the typological series, and the ornament is made by impressing a round-toothed comb in herring-bone and oblique strokes, while on the interior 'shelf' below the rim this same instrument has been used obliquely to make a series of 'maggot' impressions.



a. View looking east, with cuttings in Middle Bronze Age ditch (A) and Hill-fort ditch (B)



b. Cutting V, showing Hill-fort ditch in foreground and ditch of Roman Enclosure beyond



a. Roman Burial II in Cutting IX



b. Roman Burial III in Cutting VIII

EXCAVATIONS AT RAMS HILL, BERKS. 471

The ornament is distinctly unusual and may have early antecedents (e.g. it occurs on Neolithic pottery at Abingdon—*Antiq. Journ.* viii, 474—and on an unpublished beaker from Theale, Berks., in the Reading Museum). But the vessel, and its unusual ornament, are precisely paralleled by a similar cinerary urn from the Lambourn Seven Barrows, only $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away, found by Martin Atkins in unrecorded circumstances and now in the British Museum (Abercromby, ii, pl. LXIII, no. 17). The presence of such abnormal ornament on two vessels from neighbouring sites makes it likely that both are by the same potter, and a most interesting link is thus secured between a burial-ground (Seven Barrows) and an enclosure probably used for cattle-herding (Rams Hill), both used by the same group or family of people. And a further point of interest is that Dr. Helbaek has identified the impression of a grain of a cereal on the Seven Barrows vessel, providing another item in the agricultural economy of this group, who may have combined grain-growing with stock-breeding.

Secondary Occupation in the Inner Ditch.

The pottery representing this occupation occurred in two main areas. The first of these is suggested by sherds found in several cuttings at the south-east corner of the inner enclosure. These sherds are of buff-coloured ware, with a grey or black core, usually with shell but occasionally with flint grit. It was sherds of this type found in 1938 which were then considered to be Neolithic A; the simple rounded rims then found not being very characteristic of any specific types. In 1939, however, a large number of sherds was found in a definite hearth on top of the fine silting in the ditch on the north side of the enclosure (section IV). These sherds (fig. 4) were uniformly rough to the touch and heavily gritted, though in many cases the ware containing this grit is fine. No sherd showed any decoration, and the few rims and bases are of simple forms which might be Late Bronze or Early Iron Age. The assemblage, however, differs markedly from the group of undoubtedly Iron Age sherds from the main (camp) ditch, so that it seems more likely that these sherds and those mentioned earlier from identical stratigraphical position in the inner enclosure must all belong to the Late Bronze Age, into the ceramic traditions of which they would readily fit.

The Iron Age Hill-fort (pls. LXXXII–III, LXXXV–VI).

The circuit of the ramparts to which the Saxon land-surveyor had given the name of the Ravens' Fort is still visible for the

whole of its course, although on the south it is less clear than elsewhere, probably owing to its being obscured by hill-wash and soil creep from the slopes above. On the east the rampart is best preserved and rises to a height of 6 ft. above the ground-level over the silted-up ditch, and excavation showed that the original base of the rampart was still *in situ*, but on the north the scarp was due only to the nearly filled-up ditch, no trace of rampart material remaining.

Two sections were cut through the ditch; one (section V) in 1938

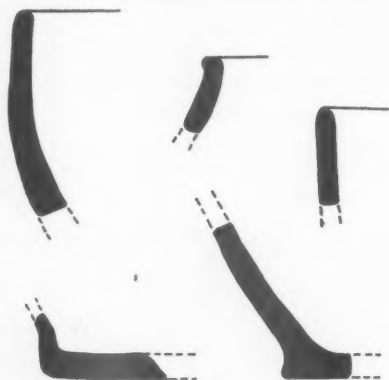


FIG. 4. Sections of Late Bronze Age sherds from the secondary occupation in the Middle Bronze Age ditch ($\frac{1}{2}$)

on the east, and one (section VI) in 1939 on the north. In addition, a partial section of the hill-fort ditch was made in tracing the course of the ditch of the Roman enclosure, which was partly cut into its silting (section IX). In all three sections the ditch was found to be flat-bottomed with sloping sides, and in section V it was found that a step had been left on the inner side. In general, these features suggest an unfinished ditch, intended to be of V-section, but never carried to completion. The almost identical section of the unfinished part of the ditch enclosing the Woodbury settlement, with a precisely similar step, goes to confirm this interpretation. In section VI an occupational level with Early Iron Age A pottery was found low down in the silt, satisfactorily dating the construction.

The mention of two 'gates' in the Saxon charter bounds, to north and south of the fort, implies opposed entrances in a normal Iron Age fashion. No definite trace of these could, however, be seen on the surface or on the air-photograph, and their position

could only have been established by extensive excavation beyond our scope.

What remains of the rampart in section V shows it to have been of simple construction in Wheeler's 'glacis' technique, proper to the Iron Age A principles of rampart building. The unfinished character of the ditch and the absence of evidence of intensive occupation imply desertion of the site before the fort was complete. This may be taken to indicate either that the fort was hurriedly begun in the face of a war scare (as seems to have been the case at Quarley Hill and other sites) or that for some reason work was abandoned on Rams Hill, and a new site chosen and a fort completed at Uffington Castle. The pottery sequence from the latter site, if obtained by excavation, would obviously go far to support or disprove such a suggestion.

The Pottery from the Hill-fort Ditch (fig. 5).

The pottery described below was found in a localized area of dark soil immediately above the primary silt (section VI). Its character is typically Iron Age A, and its closest analogies are in the sherds from Liddington Castle in north Wiltshire. There is a large proportion of decorated pieces, these forming no less than 38 per cent. of the sherds recovered. The pots represented are for the most part small and well made, and about 15 per cent. of them are coated with haematite. There are one or two fragments whose paste contains a fair proportion of grit, but are otherwise featureless, and these may be earlier and of the same date as the secondary occupation of the inner ditch. The greater part of the ware, however, is rough and sandy, and several pieces show evidence of the use of some kind of turn-table. Flint grit is used sparingly, and the occasional use of shell fragments is noteworthy, and may be compared with the shell-gritted sherds from the Knighton Hill site west of Uffington Castle (*Man*, 1928, 97-101; *Antiq. Journ.* vii, 517). The colour varies according to the amount and conditions of firing. It has not been possible to discover the form represented by many of the fragments, and only the more significant decorated pieces are illustrated.

Geographically it is more likely that the connexions implied by this pottery belong to the chalk uplands of the south rather than to the Oxford Vale to the north. To suggest anything like a close dating would be hazardous, as all too little is known about the Iron Age in this district, but the pottery from Liddington (*Wilt. Arch. Mag.* xxxviii, 576) rather suggests a later date than that from All Cannings itself, while the nearest finds to Rams Hill, Knighton Hill and Hatford, both appear to belong to the later (A2)

phase of the Early Iron Age. It is to be hoped that one or more of the North Wiltshire hill-forts—Barbury, Oldbury, or Martin—

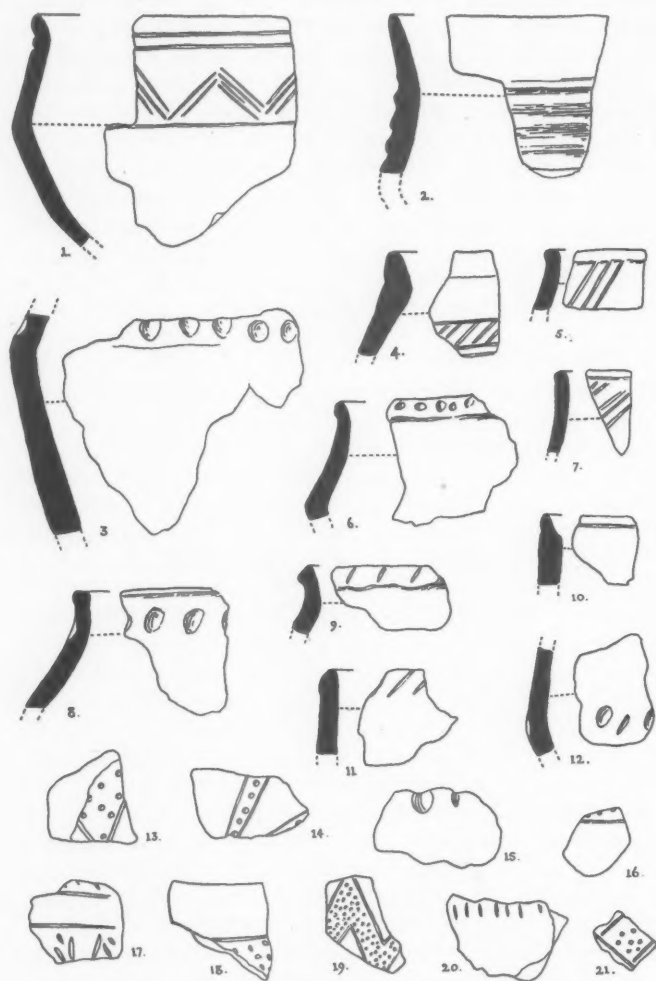


FIG. 5. Iron Age A pottery from the Hill-fort ditch ($\frac{1}{2}$)

sell for instance—or the Berkshire forts of Uffington or Alfred's Castle will some day be excavated, and so help to bridge over a blank area in our Iron Age pottery series in northern Wessex and the south Midlands.

Details of sherds illustrated in Fig. 5.

1. Leathery red-brown paste. No flint backing.
2. Haematite furrowed bowl.
3. Rough sandy ware, with orange surface and shell backing.
4. Very light grey corky ware, pitted like pumice-stone.
5. Light grey gritless paste.
6. Fine grey leathery paste containing no grit.
7. Very fine pinkish-brown clay with no grit.
8. Reddish-brown sandy ware. Flat rim. Backing of flint, and possibly a little shell.
9. Slightly leathery red-brown ware, containing grit and shell.
10. Red sandy ware.
11. Hard leathery black paste with very few grits.
12. Fine grey and leathery.
13. Dark grey sandy and gritless ware. Punched holes.
14. Light fawn sandy and gritless. Punched holes.
15. Light buff sandy ware with black interior. Small grits and shell.
16. Very fine yellow powdery ware. Punched holes.
17. Dark grey and leathery. White inlay.
18. Dark brown, gritless and leathery. White inlay.
19. Fine dark grey and slightly sandy. White inlay.
20. Probably angle of shoulder. Light brown sandy paste with shell in it.
21. Black sandy ware with slightly polished surfaces.

The Roman Enclosure (figs. 6 and 7; pls. LXXXIV-V, LXXXVII).

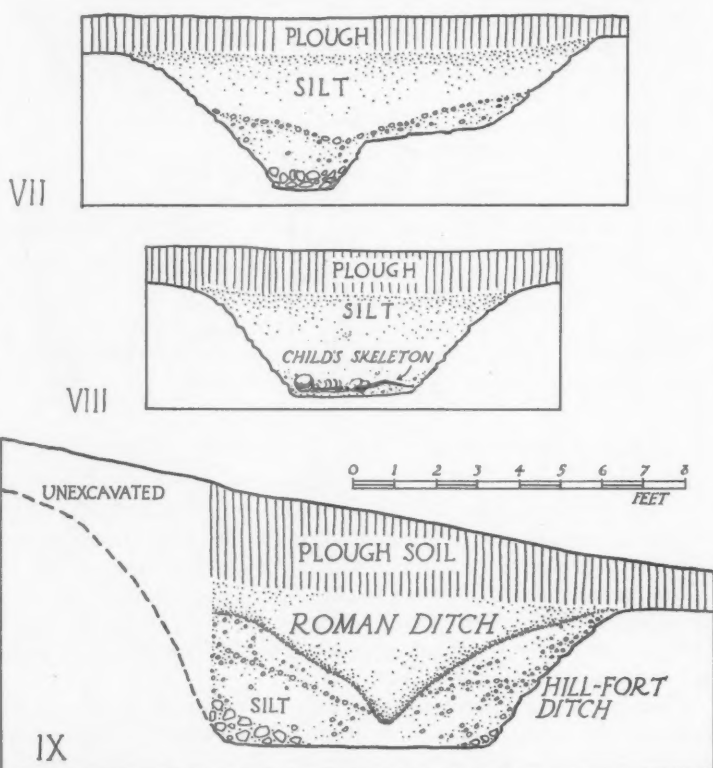
Abutting upon the ditch of the Early Iron Age fort on the east were found three sides of a quadrilateral enclosure ditch. The original proportions of this enclosure are at present unknown, since excavations were impossible on its eastern side owing to crops, but the two angles to the north-west and south-west were identified, and show that the north-south width of the enclosed area was 260 ft., while the ditches were traced eastwards on north and south for a distance of 110 ft.

This enclosure ditch averaged 8 ft. in width at the top, 4 ft. in depth, and from 1 to 3 ft. in width at the bottom. No trace of an interior bank could be seen, and the filling was homogeneous compact earthy silt with slighter coarser material at the bottom, and in this filling the Roman and Belgic pottery described below was found, but without any stratification.

The south-west angle of the ditch had been cut in the silted-up hill-fort ditch (fig. 6 and pl. LXXXVII). Immediately to the north of this angle two burials were found, which had apparently been deposited in a cleared-out portion of the ditch, since no trace of a grave cut into pre-existing filling could be detected. The lower of these burials (*Burial I*) lay upon its left side at the bottom of

the ditch. Seven coins were found in a compact mass near the ribs, suggesting that they had been enclosed in a purse or bag slung round the neck, and two further coins were found in a silver

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FIG. 6

capsule formed from two thin silver-foil discs folded over each other, each disc being about the size of a sixpence. These coins, comprising seven silver *siliquae*, one bronze *siliqua*, and another third or fourth bronze, are of the Theodosian period, and are the subject of a special paper by Mr. C. H. V. Sutherland which follows this report.

Burial II lay above the foregoing upon its back, with its head over the pelvis of burial I. There were no grave-goods with this burial, and both skeletons lay in the line of the ditch (almost true north and south) with their heads to the north.

Twenty feet from the south-west angle on the bottom of the southern ditch to the enclosure lay a child's skeleton (*Burial III*), transverse to the ditch and with the head to the north. There were no grave-goods.

Trenches cut across the interior of the enclosure in the area available for excavation revealed no features save a very small ditch at one point 75 ft. from the south side of the enclosure and apparently running parallel with it. This ditch contained Roman sherds and a fragment of flue tile scored for plaster.

There were no evidences of interior buildings save for this tile fragment: no masonry had been turned up by ploughing and no robber-trenches were encountered. Any structure existing in the western half of the enclosure would therefore presumably have been a timber building.

The enclosure presents several problems. In its general character it suggests comparison with such enclosures as those at Ditchley (Watts Wells), Wootton, Fawler, or Kiddington in Oxfordshire, being approximately of the same dimensions as Ditchley, which measured 300 by 340 ft. (not '300 yards square' as stated in the summary of the excavation report in *Oxoniensia*, i, 24-69). As the first period at Ditchley (A.D. 70-200) was represented by timber buildings and an enclosing bank and ditch (in the later phase replaced by stone structures and an enclosing wall) the parallel would seem fairly apt, especially since, as will be seen below, the pottery from the ditch at Rams Hill is of Belgic and first-century Roman types, with no admixture of later wares. On the other hand, its exposed upland position on the open chalk-land is in sharp contrast to the Oxfordshire sites mentioned, which the excavator of Ditchley would see as parallel with the southern German *Viereckschanze* considered by Bittel as representing the earliest attempts under the Roman rule to exploit the forested regions. In its situation, the Rams Hill enclosure must be compared with the smaller Roman site on Lowbury Hill above Streatley (Donald Atkinson, *Romano-British Site on Lowbury Hill*, 1916), where a rectangular flint wall, some 180 by 140 ft., was built in about A.D. 200 to enclose a settlement founded a century earlier, and perhaps originally surrounded by a palisade. The unstratified pottery in the Rams Hill ditch suggests material swept in from inside, and as we have seen, the fifth-century burials had been deposited in a ditch which was apparently still

open at that date. But the absence of pottery of a date later than the first century seems inexplicable if this were indeed the case. The dating enforced by the associated coins certainly precludes any possibility of the burials being interpreted as foundation-sacrifices on the analogy of the burial under the wall at Lowbury.

The Pottery from the Roman Enclosure Ditch (fig. 7).

We now come to the pottery itself, and most of this is early Roman material of not uncommon forms. There are also many

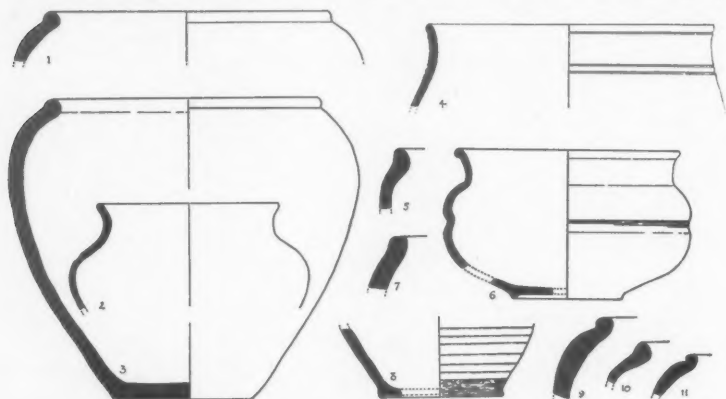


FIG. 7. Belgic pottery from the Roman Enclosure ditch ($\frac{1}{4}$)

bead-rim pots of Belgic origin and evidently dating from some time in the first half of the first century A.D. But the most puzzling form to find in this context is no. 6. This small cordoned bowl is similar to two which were found at Swarling in a burial group associated with brooches dated to the first century B.C. (*Swarling*, nos. 22 and 23, pp. 12 and 24). Group B from enclosure A at Verulamium (recently much discussed for purposes of exact dating) also produced a similar bowl (*Verulamium*, figs. 15, 38, and pp. 45 and 46), the whole group being tentatively assigned to the period A.D. 10-35. Since then, and with the additional evidence obtained, but not yet published, from Colchester, Professor Ward-Perkins has shown that it may be possible to lower the terminal date to nearer A.D. 60 for his pottery from the second Belgic occupation at Lockleys, which also includes a pot of the form now discussed (*Antiq. Journ.* 1938, pp. 362-7, fig. 8, 51 and 52).

Since this form was the one most likely to cause difficulty in dating the inception of our site as late as the Conquest, little more

can be done without further excavation. It is tempting to think that we may have at Rams Hill a native Belgic site which was 'Romanized' at the Conquest. In view of the small number of sites where continuity has been proved, it is apparent that further digging might yield valuable results. In support of a Belgic origin, the placing of the site high up on the chalk ridge, and not half-way down the slope, as are the Roman sites in the neighbourhood, would appear to be a native custom.

Details of sherds illustrated in Fig. 7.

1. Upper part of vessel similar to no. 3.
2. Belgic vessel of fine black ware similar to no. 4.
3. Coarse heavy bead-rim pot of hard grey ware.
4. Upper part of beaker in black smoothed fine-grained ware. According to a similar example from Verulamium (*Verulamium*, p. 159 and figs. 14, 32) the featureless rim would suggest a late date in the series, which survived the Conquest by a very short time.
- 5 and 7. Heavy rims of native type.
6. Fine burnished black ware. The date of this vessel has been discussed above.
8. Base of Belgic vessel with narrow lines of burnishing.
- 9 to 11. Cooking-pot rims of coarse ware.

APPENDIX I

The Non-Marine Mollusca in the Bronze Age Ditch

Soil samples were examined by Mr. A. S. Kennard, F.G.S., F.L.S., and his results, with a précis of his comments, are given below. The samples were all obtained from the Middle Bronze Age ditch in an attempt to distinguish between the Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age occupations in a climatological sense. It will be seen that this hope was not fulfilled, Mr. Kennard considering the faunules identical, and as indicating damp conditions and scrub growth in both archaeological phases. He describes the faunule as of Early Bronze Age facies.

The sites from which the samples came were as follows:

1. From fine silt on inner side of Middle Bronze Age ditch. The coarse rubble from the same position was barren of mollusca.
2. From the double post-holes at the entrance to the Middle Bronze Age enclosure.
3. From the post-hole (presumably Late Bronze Age) cut in the silt of the Middle Bronze Age ditch (section III).
4. From the hearth on top of the silt of the Middle Bronze Age ditch, associated with Late Bronze Age sherds (section IV).

Of these, then, 1 and 2 are of Middle Bronze Age and 3 and 4 of Late Bronze Age date.

| | Sites | | | |
|---|-------|---|---|----|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| <i>Pomatias elegans</i> (Müll.) . . . | 5 | 2 | 1 | — |
| <i>Carychium tridentatum</i> (Risso) . . | — | — | — | 4 |
| <i>Punctum pygmaeum</i> (Drap.) . . . | — | — | — | 1 |
| <i>Goniodiscus rotundatus</i> (Müll.) . . | — | 1 | 2 | 23 |
| <i>Cochlicopa lubrica</i> (Müll.) . . . | 1 | — | — | 5 |
| <i>Acanthinula aculeata</i> (Müll.) . . . | — | — | — | 1 |
| <i>Vallonia costata</i> (Müll.) . . . | 2 | — | — | 1 |
| " <i>excentrica</i> (Sterki) . . . | 3 | — | — | 1 |
| <i>Arion</i> sp. | 4 | — | 1 | 7 |
| <i>Vitrea crystallina</i> (Müll.) . . . | 1 | — | 1 | 3 |
| <i>Helicella cellaria</i> (Müll.) . . . | — | — | — | 6 |
| <i>Retinella nitidula</i> (Drap.) . . . | — | — | 1 | — |
| " <i>pura</i> (Ald.) | — | — | 1 | 1 |
| <i>Limax</i> sp. | 1 | — | — | — |
| <i>Xerophila itala</i> (Linné) | 3 | 4 | — | 4 |
| <i>Trochulus hispidus</i> (Linné) . . . | 1 | — | 3 | — |
| " <i>striolatus</i> (Pfr.) | — | — | — | 3 |
| <i>Cepea nemoralis</i> (Linné) | 1 | — | 1 | — |
| <i>Clausilia rugosa</i> (Drap.) | — | — | 2 | — |

APPENDIX II

Charcoal from the Middle Bronze Age Ditch

A few fragments of badly preserved charcoal were found in the primary silt of the Middle Bronze Age enclosure ditch, and Mr. J. C. Maby reports that the wood seems to be definitely Hazel (*Corylus avellana*), and from small stems or branches and twigs.

A Theodosian Silver Hoard from Rams Hill

By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

A SMALL but interesting find of Roman coins was made recently by Mr. Stuart Piggott during his examination of the site at Rams Hill, near Uffington, described in the preceding paper; and I may here recapitulate his description of the discovery. Two adult skeletons were found, buried one above the other, in a ditch which appeared to belong to an enclosure of the Ditchley-Wootton-Fawler-Kiddington type, and of which three sides were defined, suggesting a square 260 ft. across. There had evidently been occupation within this (although a trench encountered no foundations)—probably a wooden building on analogy with Ditchley; and the pottery in the ditch was first-century, with abundant Belgic types. Into the filling of this ditch, or rather in a cleared-out portion of it (since no grave dug through the filling could be detected in the section), the two burials had been deposited, the upper on his back with no grave-goods, the lower on his left side with the coins. Two coins, one silver and one bronze, were enclosed between two thin silver-foil discs folded over each other in the mouth; the other coins (seven) were all together in a compact mass high up against the ribs, a fact which suggests the previous existence of a bag or purse slung round the neck. Thus there is no doubt of the strict contemporaneity of the whole group. There was nothing else to suggest late Roman occupation of the site.

In the following list of nine coins the references are to H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, vii, viii (2nd edn.) (= Coh.); J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (= Sab.); and *Numismatic Chronicle*, fifth series (= NC.⁵). Details of wear, weight in grammes, and diameter in millimetres, are given: no mint-mark is preserved.

A. Enclosed in the silver capsule in the skeleton's mouth

No. of
coins

- I Theodosius. *Æ siliqua*. Rev., *Virtus Romanorum*. Coh. 57. Dies, obv. and rev., as NC.⁵ xvii (1937), pl. I, 12. c. A.D. 388-94. Fresh condition. Very recently clipped before burial; edges sharp, showing file-marks. 12 mm., 0.82 gm. No. 8.
- I Honorius. *Æ [siliqua]*. Rev., *Virtus Romanorum*. (As Coh. 59. ? c. A.D. 393-+.) A bronze core, of trimmed quadrilateral shape, with the types appropriate to the *Æ siliqua*. Fair-fresh condition. Newly clipped; edges sharp. 12 mm., 0.61 gm. No. 7.

The capsule in which these two coins were contained was of the thinnest silver, weighing only 0.13 gm.

B. Found in a group with the body of the skeleton

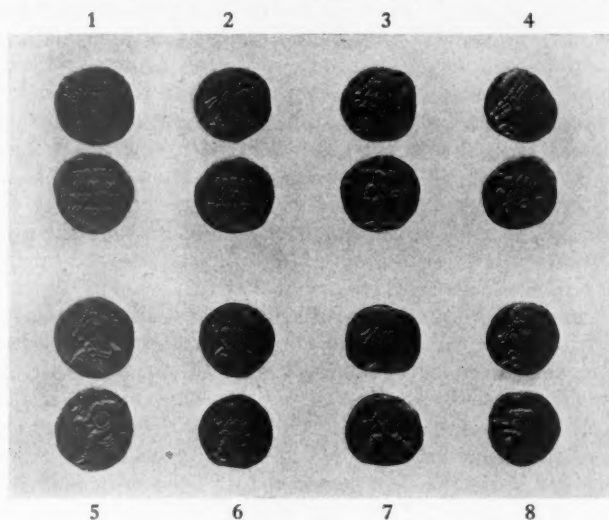
- I Constantius II. *Æ siliqua*. Rev., *Votis XXX Multis XXXX* in wreath. Cf. Coh. 341 ff.: c. A.D. 353-4 (see *NC*.^s xvii (1937), p. 116). Fair condition. Recently clipped; edges sharp, showing file-marks. Graffito on obv., X (on cheek): jawline undercut and neck scratched. 13 mm., 1.22 gm. No. 1.
- I ? Julian. *Æ siliqua*. Rev., *Votis V Multis X* in wreath. Cf. Coh. 161. A.D. 360-3. Fair condition. Recently clipped; edges fairly sharp, showing file-marks. 13 mm., 1.40 gm. No. 2.
- I Gratian. *Æ siliqua*. Rev., *Virtus Romanorum*. Coh. 56; see *NC*.^s xv (1935), pl. x, 2, for obv. die. A.D. 379-83. Fair-fresh condition. Very recently clipped; edges sharp, showing file-marks. 13.5 mm., 1.05 gm. No. 3.
- I Arcadius. *Æ siliqua*. Rev., *Virtus Romanorum*. Sab. 27. ? c. A.D. 395-400. Very fresh condition. Newly clipped; edges sharp, showing file-marks. 13 mm., 0.87 gm. No. 5.
- I Honorius. *Æ siliqua*. Rev., *Virtus Romanorum*. Coh. 59. ? c. A.D. 393-+. Fair condition, slightly rubbed. Recently clipped; edges sharp, showing file-marks. 12 mm., 0.63 gm. No. 6.
- I Uncertain. *Æ siliqua*. Rev., *Virtus Romanorum*. Fresh condition. Very recently clipped (no legend left); edges extremely sharp. 12.5 mm., 0.95 gm. No. 4.
- I Illegible. *Æ*3 or *Æ*4. Possibly of the Theodosian period; much corroded.

9 Total (7 *Æ siliquae*, 1 *Æ 'siliqua'*, 1 *Æ*).

In determining the date at which this 'hoard' was buried with the body of him who was probably its owner, we lack the assistance often given by comparative analysis of mint-marks: so thoroughly was the clipping of the coins carried out that no trace of any mint-mark now remains. Indeed, in some cases where the obverse legend has been clipped away or mutilated, identification is possible only by the recognition of die-identities with specimens described elsewhere. Some indication of the date of burial, however, may be derived from consideration of the condition of the coins. That of Arcadius, for instance, had seen but little circulation before it was clipped and immediately buried: the silver coin of Honorius was only slightly rubbed when it, too, was clipped and buried. Probably we should be safe in assigning the burial to the decade A.D. 400-10: it is not possible to define the date more closely.

The burial of the coins with the body, and the enclosing of two pieces in the capsule in the mouth, are of obvious interest.

The custom of placing 'Charon's obol' in the mouth of a corpse before burial, so common among the Greeks, was taken over by the Romans and frequently practised under the Empire.¹ In this particular instance we have a curious feature to note: although



Coins from the Rams Hill Hoard ($\frac{1}{2}$)

the body was buried decently with a handful of good money on the person, and with the Ferryman's fee in the mouth, carefully enclosed in the silver capsule, this fee consisted of two ill-assorted coins—one *siliqua* of good silver (albeit clipped), and one 'sham' *siliqua*. Presumably Charon might take whichever he pleased, or both together: his eye, deceived by the appearance of *siliqua*-types on the bronze coin, would perhaps assign to the bronze coin the same value as to the silver. A similar carelessness, or lack of business instinct, may be predicated of the tutelary deities of some sacred wells, e.g. at the Roman fort on Bar Hill, Dumbartonshire, into which were thrown (at the end of the first century of our era) tin *denarii* cast from moulds;² and well-known examples of a parallel nature are recorded from the Far East.³

¹ See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Ant. gr. et rom.* ii, s.v. 'Funus', p. 1388; and cf. Propertius, iv, 11, 7; Juvenal, iii, 267.

² Macdonald and Park, *The Roman Fort on Bar Hill*, pp. 109 ff.; cf. *NC.*⁴ v (1905), pp. 10 ff.

³ See my *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, p. 23, for the description of a Chinese custom whereby dummy coins have been made for the dead.

In the clipping of the *siliquae* in the Rams Hill burial we may see a further effort to curtail the profits reaped in the Underworld at the expense of poor mortals on earth. The clipping of *siliquae* seems to have been a frequent practice, though not a prevalent one: for example, as Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil has pointed out,¹ though clipped *siliquae* are common in the hoards found at Icklingham (no. I: to this now add no. II),² Manton Downs, Whorlton, Coleraine, and South Ferriby, they are rare in the numerous late silver-hoards from Somerset, and in the Sproxton and Terling deposits as well. From the clipped coins in the South Ferriby hoard, indeed, Mr. O'Neil has argued persuasively that clipping was an official expedient, carried out at the end of the fourth century and perhaps in the north of Britain, to save the government the trouble of issuing silver on a newly adopted tariff rate. Further evidence is needed to prove or to disprove his hypothesis: in any case, it cannot apply to the Rams Hill *siliquae*. For these coins, deliberately buried with a corpse which careful forethought had furnished even with Charon's fee, had been clipped so recently before their burial that their edges (square in section, and not at all rounded by use) are truly sharp, still displaying the marks of the file which rounded off the shape of their flans. In other words, since the coins were to be buried with their owner, they could be clipped in perfect safety, and to the profit of his executor. They were, in fact, cut down to the module prevailing in the South Ferriby hoard,³ i.e. most of them weigh between 1.00 gm. and 0.50 gm. The measure of the profit gained by their reduction in size is easily calculated. The eight silver coins from Rams Hill (counting the 'sham' *siliqua* as an orthodox piece of the same weight) contain 7.55 gm. of metal—1.40, 1.22, 1.05, 0.95, 0.87, 0.82, 0.63, 0.61 gm. But eight unclipped coins, of exactly parallel issues and of similar wear, taken out of the trays of the Ashmolean collection, weigh 14.32 gm. in all. That is to say, the clipping of the coins deprived them of very nearly half their metal content—a loss which was scarcely counterbalanced by the addition of 0.13 gm. of silver in the little capsule. Clearly, clipping was a profitable business, whatever the occasion which might prompt it: at Rams Hill the dead man's executor or heir, bound in conscience to bury the coins, kept back nearly 50 per cent. of their value;⁴ and the coins in the South Ferriby hoard, by

¹ NC.⁵ xv (1935), pp. 269 ff.

² NC.⁵ xvi (1936), p. 261.

³ NC.⁵ xv (1935), p. 270.

⁴ Indeed, he kept back quite 50 per cent. of their value by his substitution of a silver by a bronze coin as one of the two coins in the mouth.

whomsoever they were clipped, had similarly lost nearly a moiety of their worth—a fact which prompts Mr. O'Neil to regard them as tentative or experimental half-*siliquae*.

To sum up: we have here one of two burials, deposited in a clear section of ditch bounding an enclosure which lacks independent evidence of late Roman occupation. The body, however, was buried (as the coins show) probably in the decade A.D. 400–10, with due regard to Roman theory concerning the crossing of the Styx, by someone who did not scruple to substitute bronze for silver in the mouth, or to reduce the other coins, now grave-goods, to a halved value before interring them.

Notes

A flint dagger and two beakers from East Kent.—The following note is communicated by Mr. R. F. Jessup, F.S.A., Local Secretary for Kent:—The objects here described have been for some time in the small but notable Museum at Folkestone, and I am indebted to the Curator, Mr. John W. Walton, F.G.S., F.L.S., for permission to publish them in this *Journal*, and further for his kindness in ascertaining certain details of the discoveries.

The weapon illustrated in pl. LXXXVIII (Accession Number 21—1935) is a welcome addition to Mr. W. F. Grimes's topographical list of Early Bronze Age flint daggers.¹ It was found some ten years ago in a garden at the corner of Capel Street and Cauldham Lane, Capel-le-Ferne (Kent 6-in. Sheet LXXV, NE. and SE.), a small village two miles north-east of Folkestone, in the construction of a rain-water garden tank. It lay, according to the donor, Mr. G. R. Mack, at a depth of 2 ft. in undisturbed soil, and there was, he writes in a recent letter, 'a core of soil in a line with the implement which suggested a haft about 18 to 20 inches long. This was broken in digging and crumbled with hand pressure'. The dagger, which is of simple leaf shape, measures 6.2 in. in length, 2.1 in. in maximum width over the blade, and 0.4 in. in its greatest thickness at a point 2.6 in. from the tip. It is made of black flint, matt in texture, derived, Mr. Walton points out, from tabular flint in the upper chalk, and has on both faces an irregular bluish-white patina. The primary flaking, though bold, is carefully executed, and the secondary working so delicate that much of the margin of the blade is transparent. At the greatest width of the blade are three pairs of small notches for securing the blade to its shaft. The record of a shaft, though not as precise as could be wished, is particularly interesting. Wooden handles are, of course, known, one of the finest being on the magnificent dagger which with handle and case was found in a bog near Wiepenkathen, N. Hanover,² and traces of the pitch-like material by which the handle was attached have been noted, as for instance on a dagger found near Wakefield, Yorkshire,³ but remains of shafts seem to be virtually unknown. In view of the delicate workmanship of the Capel dagger, it is tempting to suggest that it may have been carried on a shaft for ceremonial purposes.

Thanks chiefly to Mr. Grimes's detailed study, it is now widely recognized that the flint daggers are an integral part of the beaker culture and belong in the main to the A-C beaker group. Beakers of this group are not common in Kent, and it is not without significance that one of the beakers described below which was found only two miles from Capel is of that group. In any case the geographical situation of Capel strongly suggests that this multiple-notched dagger arrived by a sea-route, and the conclusions set out by Mr. Grimes are in no way to be modified as a result of its discovery.

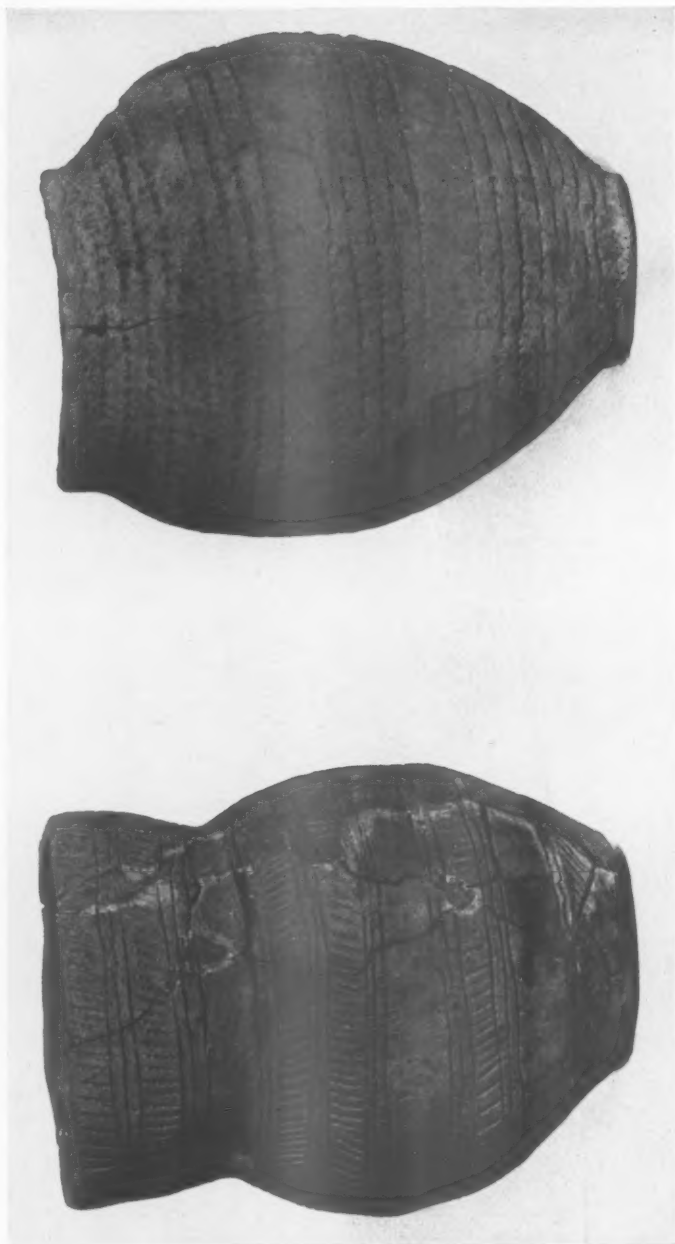
¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, vi, Part IV (1931), 340-55, and for an addition from Upchurch, Kent, see *Antiq. Journ.* xiv (1934), 298-9.

² *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, N.S. iii, Part I (1937), 178.

³ *Antiq. Journ.* xii (1932), 450, no. 5.



Flint dagger from Capel-le-Ferne, Kent (1)



Two beakers from Folkestone, Kent (¹/₂)

Of the two beakers (pl. LXXXIX), that on the left (Accession No. 201—1931) was found in a sand-pit close to the 13th tee in the south-west corner of Folkestone Golf Course, north of the Pent Stream (Kent 6-in. Sheet LXXV, NW.). It came to the Museum in many fragments and was skilfully repaired by Mr. Charles Hastings Stevens. As restored the beaker is 6.5 in. in height, and 4.25 in. in diameter at the mouth. The fabric is a fairly hard drab-coloured clay, well fired, but with very little finish. The decoration consists of four zones of herring-bone work impressed with a three-pronged notched comb stamp, bounded and divided by fine irregular horizontal lines in groups of three. With its short neck and characteristic zonal ornament, this beaker may be placed in the C group.

The butt-shaped beaker on the right has no history, except that it was part of the Old Collection and came to the Museum before 1918. In its present damaged condition it is 6.5 in. in height, and the diameter at the mouth can be estimated at 3.75 in. The fabric is soft, with a smooth surface varying in colour from light buff to red where the pot has come into contact with an open fire. It is ornamented with four zones of carefully made horizontal notched lines which increase progressively in number from the lip to the prominent foot-ring. A considerable deposit of soil remains within the pot, and Mr. Walton after a careful examination declares this to be a local brick-earth. Taking into account the fact that the Old Collection is chiefly of local objects, and the condition of the beaker, we feel no hesitation in attributing it to the Folkestone district.

A Site of the Late Bronze—Early Iron Age Transition at Totternhoe, Beds.—The following Note has been drawn up by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A., from materials supplied by the 30th Bedfordshire Rover Scout Crew (R/L. H. Wingfield and R/S. L. Mathews, who directed the excavations, assisted by R/Ss. J. Cadman, W. Hall, P. Pratt, and others), and by Mr. Charles E. Freeman, Curator of Luton Public Museum, where the principal finds are now preserved. In addition to excavations made in 1937–8 in the ditch of the well-known Camp of Maiden Bower, Dunstable, which was found to be 12 ft. deep and to contain a contracted burial, overlain by three extended burials, one accompanied by an infant and all decapitated—these discoveries will be published in a separate report—the 30th Beds. Rover Crew in 1936–7–8 excavated portions of a prehistoric habitation-site at Totternhoe, 2 miles west of Dunstable, where a large chalk-quarry is cut into the northern slope of the chalk downs of the Chiltern ridge, along which runs the Icknield Way. The quarry lies north of Totternhoe village, and the prehistoric remains were noticed exposed in its south-west face, some 200 yards ENE. of the dominating mound of Totternhoe Castle (sketch-map, fig. 1: cf. 6-in. O.S. Beds. XXXII, NW.). In all, four distinct sites were explored (1–4 on fig. 1), and excavated by the crew with the permission of the company working the quarry. Site 1 (found in April 1937) was an artificial hollow in the top of the natural chalk rock, which lies here only 6–9 in. below the surface. It was 14 ft. in diameter, and sloped down to a depth of 3 ft. 6 in. in the centre, where were the remains of a hearth. These comprised charcoal, burnt flints and earth, and fragments of animal

bone, with a number of sherds of hand-made pottery, of which the rim profiles are shown in fig. 2. All were of coarse flint-gritted ware, though no. 1 has a crudely smoothed gritless surface; the rims are more or less flat-topped, and in nos. 1 and 2 show the work of the potter's fingers, though

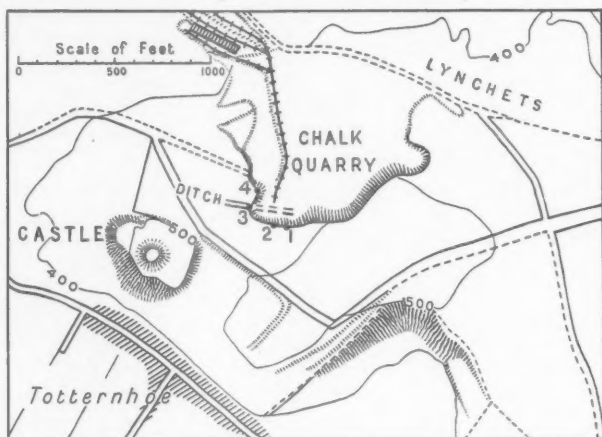


FIG. 1. Sketch-map of Totternhoe, showing prehistoric sites (1-4) in face of chalk-quarry

not regular finger-tip ornament. No. 3 is the hardest baked and is noticeably thin, its profile showing no lip but something of a high shoulder, which appears rather less pronounced on the other two. For 25 ft. west of this site, the top of the natural chalk was seen to be worn into a shallow hollow 18 in.-2 ft. deep in the centre; it was thought that this might be the cross-section of a contemporary trackway. Beyond this, and 75 ft. along the quarry edge west from site 1, was site 2, a circular pit dug in the chalk to a depth of several feet from the surface, found in October



FIG. 2. Totternhoe: pottery from site 1 (½)

1936. It contained occupation-remains of a similar character, but the pottery was considerably more abundant, and the pieces with restorable profiles are seen drawn by Mr. Freeman in fig. 3. These are:

1. Completely restored pot 16 in. high, diameter at rim 12.9 in., at shoulder 14 in., at base 6.9 in.
2. Rim and shoulder only, diameter at rim 12.5 in., at shoulder 13.85 in.
3. Pot with lower portion missing, diameter at rim 12.75 in., at shoulder 14.2 in.
4. Pot with upper portion missing, diameter at shoulder 14.5 in., at base 6.6 in.

A quantity of other fragments was all of the same ware. This is thin and hard-baked, containing flint grit and fired to an uneven buff-grey colour.

The rims are more or less flat-topped, and show irregularities due to finger-working, but no regular finger-tip ornament. The body-surfaces show distinct signs of working over with the fingers, or possibly some tool giving a similar effect, the result being a faintly brushed or furrowed appearance. The profiles vary from slight (1) to pronounced (3) versions of a high-shouldered type which may be considered a distant response to the

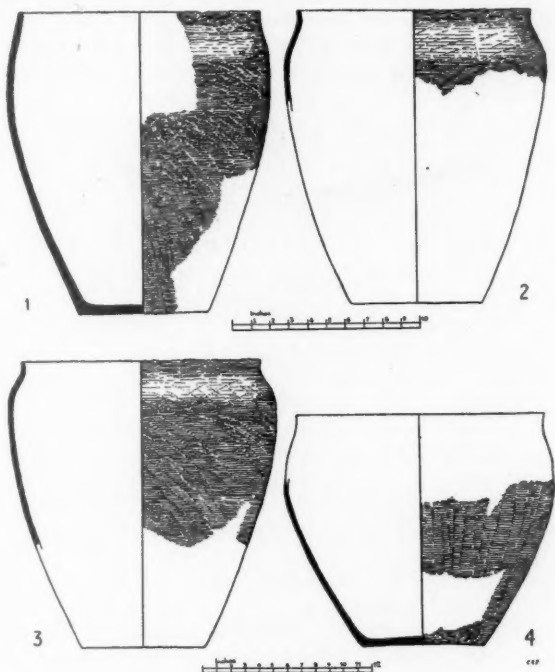


FIG. 3. Totternhoe: pottery from site 2

inspiration of the bronze situla, and typologically the pottery should not be earlier than the final stage of the Late Bronze Age transitional to the Early Iron Age. Inside pot 1 was found a large quantity of carbonized grains mainly of wheat. Specimens of these were submitted to Professor John Percival, M.A., Sc.D., late Professor of Agricultural Botany in the University of Reading, who has kindly reported on them as follows:

'I am glad to have examined the specimens of the carbonized wheat from Totternhoe which you have sent. In my opinion they are grains of a primitive form of Bread Wheat (*Triticum vulgare*). In many cases it is very difficult to determine the race of wheat from an examination of carbonized grains alone. It is, however, a comparatively simple matter if complete portions of an ear, complete spikelets, or undamaged chaff are

present. In the sample you send there are small broken fragments of chaff, which suggest that more complete bits would be of great interest. The fragments present are too small to be of much value for diagnostic purposes: carbonized chaff is excessively brittle, and complete specimens are very unlikely to be found, unless very special care is taken with the find to avoid shaking when discovered. Masses of the grain should be handled with the greatest care, and moved about as little as possible until examination is undertaken. But the pieces which I found make it clear that the wheat is of a very early type: much earlier, for example, than the wheat from Little Solsbury, near Bath (a hill-fort which has yielded

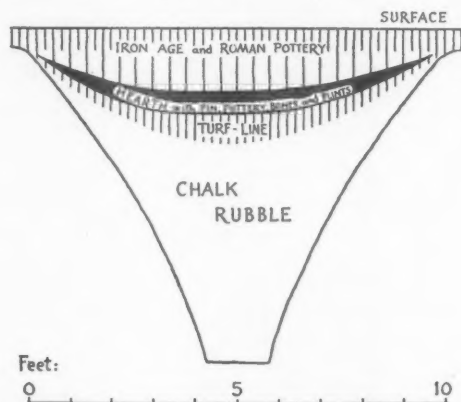


FIG. 4. Totternhoe: section of ditch, site 3

remains characteristic of an advanced form of the Iron Age A culture: see D. P. Dobson, *Archaeology of Somerset*, 100-1, C.F.C.H.). I have examined, and have considerable amounts of this latter find; in my opinion they are ordinary *Triticum vulgare* (see my *Wheat in Great Britain* (1934), p. 12 and fig. 1, f).

"There are also a few barley grains present in the Totternhoe sample, as well as some grains of a common grass weed."

Some 180 ft. north-westward along the quarry face from site 2 was site 3, first noticed in 1937 and excavated in January and the following months, 1938. It was at first thought that this was a shallow hollow of saucer shape like site 1, but excavation revealed that the hearth or occupation-stratum overlay the filling of what turned out to be a steep-sided, flat-bottomed ditch cut in the chalk. This was found to run rather north of due west, and while its eastward portion had of course been destroyed by the quarry, its westerly direction was established by total excavation for 14 ft. in from the quarry face, beyond which it was proved by the sinking of trial shafts to continue for at least 150 ft. farther on the same alignment. The cross-section is shown in fig. 4. The flat bottom lies at 8 ft. from the surface and is 18 in. across; above this the sides rise steeply to a mouth just 10 ft.

wide at the top of the chalk 6 in. below the surface. The greater part of the sides shows fresh unweathered chalk, on which tool-marks could still be discerned, and it is thus evident that the ditch, whatever its purpose,¹ was to a large extent filled in again not very long after it was dug; the filling consists of clean chalk rubble, for the most part quite large blocks, some still with visible tool-marks like those on the sides, and was devoid of finds. This was sealed by a 'turf-line' of more or less decalcified chalk, about 9 in. thick in the centre, where its sagging profile brings its upper surface to 6 ft. above the ditch bottom. This layer was also sterile, but directly upon it lay the occupation-stratum or hearth first noticed, which was 6 in. thick in the centre and contained charcoal and burnt earth and flints, a small flint scraper, fragments of animal bone split for the extraction of the marrow, animal teeth, and, with these, pieces of pottery and a bronze pin. The pottery included fragments of at least three vessels, identical both in ware and general form to those found on sites 1 and 2. But one flat-topped rim bore regular finger-nail ornament, and another analogous decoration made by slanting tool-impressions, while the third vessel had similar slanting stab-marks on the outside surface just below the rim. The bronze pin was found on 6th February 1938 in the upper part of the hearth stratum, at just over 18 in. from the surface, and is illustrated in fig. 5. It is 3.83 in. long, with an average shaft-diameter of 0.1 in., and a head moulded in a vase-like form, with a flat circular top 0.25 in. across separated by a narrow neck from a swelling nearly as wide. The pin is in good preservation, with a smooth greenish patina. In type it would appear to be a somewhat degenerate version of the vase-headed pins of the Urnfield culture of the Alpine slopes, especially distinctive² of the West Alpine lake-dwellers of roughly 1000-800 B.C., the period of the Late Bronze Age there defined in Central European terminology as Hallstatt A and B. That about or soon after the latter date a migration from that region set out north-westwards and reached south-eastern Britain has become a well-known thesis in recent years, and the ancestry of the Totternhoe pin can well be explained this way. The pottery would in any case be assigned to the very end of our lowland Bronze Age or the transition to the Iron Age, and the date of the settlement is best conjectured to lie in the sixth or the fifth century B.C. The few sherds in the overlying top-soil of site 3 were worn scraps of later Iron Age and Roman date. Site 4 was investigated later in 1938, and appeared in general similar to site 1. The lynchets of Celtic fields are to be seen (and sherds of coarse gritty pottery to be picked up) on the slope of the ridge north-east of the quarry (fig. 1), where perhaps the wheat found on site 2 was grown, and it is probable, taking all the indications together, that a quite considerable prehistoric settlement awaits further exploration.



FIG. 5.
Totternhoe:
bronze pin
($\frac{1}{2}$)

¹ On the general question of 'boundary'-ditches of this type see *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, pt. 2, 139-47.

² Déchelette, *Manuel*, ii, 1, 325, fig. 129.

An 'Aylesford' La Tène III brooch from Arundel Park, and the dating of the type.—Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes also contributes the following: The bronze brooch here figured was found a number of years ago, and later given to the British Museum, by a Mr. H. J. Booker, who noticed it while walking in Arundel Park, Sussex, at a spot 1,280 yards due north of Swanbourne Lake, and 150 yards west of the south-west corner of Dry Lodge Plantation; it was lying on the surface of a fresh mole-hill. The spot is in South Stoke parish (6-in. O.S. Sussex (West) L, SW.), and lies just above the 300-ft. contour-line; it is furthermore only 700 yards NNE. of the site at 'Shepherd's Garden' excavated in recent years by the Littlehampton Natural Science and Archaeology Society, and proved to have been first occupied in the century preceding the Roman conquest.¹ This site was the centre of a lynchet-system which appears to have covered the whole surrounding area, and traces of occupation in the form of surface pottery, etc., occur in several places on the slopes northwards of it towards Dry Lodge Plantation, on which the brooch was found. The latter may accordingly be treated as part of the occupation-material of this area in general, which forms one of the principal evidences of a Belgic type of culture in west Sussex between about 50 B.C. and the Roman Conquest.² The 'Shepherd's Garden' pottery includes both pedestal-urn and bead-rim fragments, as well as imported Belgic plates and a piece of butt-beaker; furthermore, both the piece of imported Belgic girth-beaker and the La Tène bronze belt-link published in 1923 'from the neighbourhood of Arundel',³ and now in the British Museum, were found within the same area, and the Littlehampton Society's excavations brought to light not only the engraved La Tène bronze published in this *Journal* in 1936, and assigned to the early first century A.D.,⁴ but also part of an imported thistle-brooch of the same period.⁵ The brooch now added to this series is interesting as bearing upon the question of the initial date of this Belgic occupation, which is referred to c. 50 B.C. on at present somewhat general grounds.

It is of the well-known 'Aylesford' form of the La Tène III type, so called from the presence inside the famous bucket, in the richest grave of the Aylesford cemetery published by Sir Arthur Evans, of a specimen which when complete must have borne a very close resemblance to this one.⁶ Its leading characters are an open catch-plate (here originally embellished with tracery now broken away), a moulding with a hook-like projection high up on the bow, and lastly a trumpet-like expansion of the bow-head, designed to cover and keep in position the internally placed chord of the spring, which both in this and the Aylesford brooch has four coils. The internal spring-chord on the one hand, with the trumpet head to which it gave rise, and the projecting bow-moulding on the other, are the critical features for

¹ *Suss. Arch. Colls.* lxxvii, 222 ff.

² Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, 281-2.

³ *Suss. Arch. Colls.* lxiv, 201.

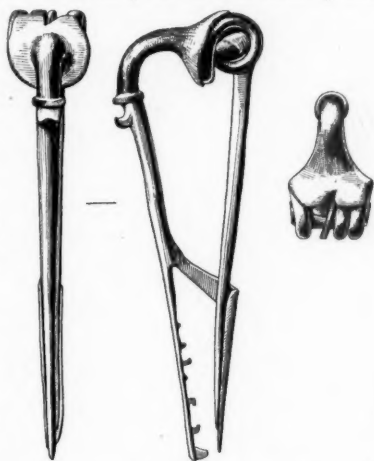
⁴ *Antiq. Journ.* xvi, 103-5; Curwen, *op. cit.*, 260-1, fig. 77; *Suss. Arch. Colls.* lxxvii, 227, fig. 3, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 3, 1.

⁶ *Arch.* lii, 2, 380-2, figs. 18-19.

dating the type within its period. The moulding, as has long been recognized, is a La Tène III 'vestige' of the foot-attachment which characterizes the brooches of the preceding period of La Tène II; and as such, despite the later survival of certain specialized forms of it, it is natural to seek it first in the opening phase of La Tène III, early in the first century B.C. And in fact brooches with this feature in a simple form do appear to be typical of the years c. 100–50 B.C. in Gaul, where examples from Belgic graves in Champagne and Normandy well show the typological sequence.¹ Accordingly the Aylesford type, with a moulding only slightly modified by the adding of a hook-projection, has been placed in the latter part of the same half-century.²

With this we can compare the evidence of the spring-chord. The chords of La Tène II, as of La Tène I, brooches are external, and it is with this feature unaltered that the La Tène III series begins in Gaul, as on the Belgic examples just cited. Just the same thing, in one variant of these brooches



Bronze La Tène III brooch,
Arundel Park (†)

or another, characterizes the earliest settling-grounds of our first Belgic invaders in Kent, that is, from about 75 B.C.³ However, the device of placing the chord internally beneath the bow-head, to support the tension of the spring, also appears about this time in Belgic Gaul, as in the rich cemetery of Alizay, Dépt. Eure,⁴ where the examples may safely be assigned to the same half-century, ending with the establishment of Roman rule in Gaul about 50 B.C.⁵ It is this internal chord which the Aylesford type's trumpet-like extension of the bow-head was devised to cover and secure, and that this development had taken place also within that half-century is implied by Evans's view of the date of the Aylesford grave. After considering the bucket, and the imported bronze vessels found with it, whose manufacture he assigned to the second century, he concluded this date was not likely to be later than 50 B.C.,⁶ and that opinion has not ceased to hold the

¹ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 197, fig. 11, nos. 2, 6, 1, and 7.

² *B.M. Iron Age Guide*, 126–7, on fig. 138.

³ e.g. *Swarling Report*, pl. xv, 16 (Deal); further examples in the British Museum from Walmer, Folkestone, and Faversham.

⁴ *Arch. Journ.* lxxxvii, 197, fig. 11, 4 and 5.

⁵ *Ibid.* 201, paras. 4 and 6: in the latter (l. 29 of the page), 'not . . . earlier than' was printed by an unfortunate slip, and the writer and Mr. Dunning take this opportunity of stating that it should read 'not . . . later than'.

⁶ *Arch.* lii, 2, 380.

field; Mr. Leeds, for instance, though he suggests the bucket may be Gaulish not British work, classes it as safely datable to the first half of the century,¹ so that we may be fairly confident that our brooch-type, invented in the decades directly before 50 B.C., was current about the time of the campaigns of Julius Caesar. Two examples of it, a pair, were found at Swarling in grave 13,² and both Mr. Reginald Smith³ and Mr. Bushe-Fox⁴ adopted this dating, the latter using it to place this grave-group as probably one of the earliest from the site.

The remarkable thing is that neither in Gaul nor in Britain has there hitherto been any evidence for its currency later. As a loose find the type is comparatively rare. As for excavated sites, it is absent at Verulamium,⁵ and I do not know of it anywhere else outside Kent; on the Camulodunum site at Colchester, where over eighty La Tène III brooches have been recovered in the excavations of the last ten years, it is unrepresented likewise. Instead, the Belgic culture of the age of Tasciovanus and Cunobelin standardized the old type with external chord, using a hook, cast in one with the brooch, to keep this in place. The result is too well known to need illustration,⁶ occurring in particularly overwhelming numbers at Colchester, and presently spreading south of the Thames, where it appears for example at Silchester,⁷ Oare,⁸ Woodcuts and Rotherley,⁹ and Hod Hill,¹⁰ in contexts all datable well within the first century A.D. The contrasting absence of the Aylesford type from all such contexts may be taken as evidence, as strong as any negative evidence can be, that the type died out at latest soon after the middle decades of the first century B.C. Two conclusions would seem to follow. The first concerns the initial date of the Belgic occupation of the 'Shepherd's Garden' area. It is difficult to find explicit grounds for dating any of the above-mentioned finds there much before the beginning of the first century A.D.; the other bronzes and the imported pottery are certainly no earlier than that, and the dating of the native (mainly bead-rim) pottery from farther back within the first century B.C. rests rather on the general case for Belgic landings in this quarter about 50, than on associations with anything positively datable then and no later. That the general case is strong will appear more clearly when Mr. Derek Allen has published the paper recently read to the Society on the Belgic dynasties and their coinage. But inscribed (and even uninscribed) British coins are not too common as site-finds, and a few definitely mid-first century archaeological types, whether metal or pottery, would certainly be thankfully received. I suggest

¹ *Celtic Ornament*, 38.

² Bushe-Fox, *Swarling Report*, 6, with pl. XII, 3.

³ *Ibid.* 41, 45.

⁴ *Ibid.* 24, 27.

⁵ Where the internal-chord feature only appears in the little flat-bowed brooch, *Verulamium Report*, fig. 24, 2.

⁶ e.g. *Swarling Report*, pls. XII, 4-5; XIII, XIV, 10, 13; XV, 14-15; *Verulamium Report*, fig. 24, 1; *Colchester Museum Report 1930-31*, pl. VIII, 4; Collingwood (*Arch. Rom. Britain*), type 9.

⁷ Reading Mus.

⁸ *Devizes Mus. Cat.*², pl. xxxviii, A-B.

⁹ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, i, pl. XIII, 11; pl. XIV, 10; ii, pl. xcvi, 3.

¹⁰ Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air*, fig. 3, c.

that the Aylesford type of La Tène III brooch has a strong claim to acceptance as such a type. And its appearance in the area of this Belgic site must then be allowed to weigh in favour of an initial occupation-date not long after 50 B.C. Further, our specimen happens to possess a feature suggesting that it was treasured for more than a little time on the site. Its originally four-coil spring has been broken across the last coil above the pin. This has been made good by supplying a new pin with a head flattened out into a perforated disc, which was thrust into place beside the broken spring-coil and fixed there by passing a bronze wire peg transversely through the whole, as our figure shows. Of course, this may have happened at any time, but it is noteworthy that it should occur in a piece that we can credit on other grounds with this relatively early date, and correspondingly extended opportunity for survival.

First, then, the brooch has proved to be datable in the years about 50 B.C., and to suggest that Belgic occupation began as early as that in West Sussex. Secondly, this dating must inevitably reflect upon the current theory of the derivation from the Aylesford type of the Romano-British trumpet-brooches. For none of the latter can be dated before A.D. 70,¹ so that there is a gap of something like a century between them and their supposed prototype. Is not the solution that the trumpet-brooches were created, in the military zone of the north, on the inspiration not of the obsolete Aylesford type of south Britain, but of the trumpet-headed form of the La Tène III type that had just the required continuous history in the Central European province of Pannonia? These Pannonian brooches were connected with the British by Sir Arthur Evans,² and it is particularly important to notice that they resemble our trumpet-brooches in having the chord always external, whereas the derivation of the latter from the Aylesford type involves the difficulty of assuming a change-over, on the way, to an external chord from an internal one. The whole typological series of these Pannonian brooches has recently been presented by Ilona Kóvrig,³ and if it be asked whether any of them have been found in Britain, the beginning of a list can be made with one from London in the London Museum,⁴ and two unpublished in the British Museum from the Ransom collection, which implies a probable provenance in the region of Herts. or Beds. And the Ninth Legion, whose task was the conquest and garrison of the eastern lowlands this way up to York and beyond, where the trumpet-brooches begin in Flavian times, came to Britain under Aulus Plautius from Pannonia.

Kaimes Hill fort, Midlothian.—Prof. V. Gordon Childe, F.S.A., Local Secretary, communicates the following:—The oppidum on Kaimes Hill (parish of Ratho, Midlothian), 10 acres in area and comprising within its

¹ Collingwood, *Arch.* lxxx, 43–5.

² *Ibid.* lv, pt. 1, 182–3, figs. 6, 8.

³ *Die Haupttypen der kaiserzeitlichen Fibeln in Pannonien* (Dissertationes Pannonicae, ser. ii, no. 4, 1937), Taf. V (Gruppe VIII: see German text 116 ff., for description and dating).

⁴ Wheeler, *London in Roman Times*, 92–3, fig. 26, 12. The contemporary Rhineland type, *ibid.* 13, may have also made its contribution.

walls numerous hut-circles, looks like a small western counterpart of the celebrated hill-top town of Traprain Law (East Lothian). As part of the western defences of the fort had to be destroyed in quarrying, the Ancient Monuments Board decided that the doomed area should first be examined archaeologically and asked me to superintend the work, the quarry company providing the labour. The area affected is almost naked rock sloping down from north to south with an average gradient of 3 in 10 and so ill suited for habitation. Nevertheless, examination disclosed three phases of occupation.

The first defences consisted probably of two ramparts, nos. 2 and 4 counting from the first obstacle now encountered in ascending the hill. The inner rampart, 4, was 10 ft. wide and faced externally (i.e. on the south) with quarry-dressed slabs laid with a marked batter in courses which survived in places to a height of $3\frac{1}{2}$ ft. The core was of rubble mixed with some earth, but its internal margin was apparently faced with slabs on edge. Many of these had been removed or displaced for use in later constructions, but the survivors include one block $2\frac{3}{4}$ ft. high, 3 ft. long, and over $1\frac{3}{4}$ ft. thick. This defence was supplemented at a distance of 20 to 25 ft. down the hill by an outer rampart, no. 2, now appearing at best as a step interrupting the hill slope and in many places completely masked by debris from the later inner rampart, 3. It had consisted of a bank of earth and small stones, $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. wide, revetted on both sides with masonry walls but probably serving as the basis for a palisade.

In the second phase the inner rampart, 4, was replaced by a new structure, following a different line and constructed on other principles. The foundation course of a built revetment, massive blocks roughly squared on the face and on top, was exposed 17 ft. south of the outer face of rampart 4, over a length of 12 ft. in our section I, but none of the blocks was very firmly planted on rock. At each end of the strip they had slipped out of position and in section II, 35 ft. to the west, none were found *in situ*. No higher courses were in position, but all had toppled backwards forming a stony slope which culminated in a crest 8 ft. north of the line of the face and 7 ft. above its base. On the line of section I this crest lies 9 ft. south of rampart 4, but it approaches it to the west, crossing the line of its outer face after 20 ft. and approximating even to the inner face just west of section II.

North of the crest, the stones of which project through the turf, is an approximately level platform. On section I the space between the crest and the older rampart 4 was found to be occupied mainly by made earth—very black soil comprising many animal bones and a few rounded sling-balls, in fact a sort of midden deposit—on the top of which just within the crest lay some large stones evidently fallen from the revetment, while below it came rock, now of course 3–4 ft. higher than outside the face of 3. The south face of rampart 4 had been bodily removed $18\frac{3}{4}$ ft. west of section I, its place being taken by the 'midden deposit' and loose stones, till the accumulation of collapsed blocks which forms the crest crosses its line at a distance of 20 ft. (pl. xc, 1).

To form the crest and support the existing platform the revetment must have stood at least 9 ft. high. There is nothing like the requisite number of stones outside the line of face to constitute such a wall. The simplest



1. Kaimes Hill Fort. Earlier inner rampart 4 (right) cut by collapsed later rampart 3



2. Kaimes Hill Fort. Foundation of later inner rampart 3



Romano-British clay relief-mould, Kettering (1.9.1 cm.): original, right; impression, left

explanation of the deficiency is to assume that the revetment was a sort of Gallic wall, tied back by beams, not to a parallel inner face, but to the hill-side itself, a type of construction Dr. Bersu has described to me in Continental forts such as Stradonice.

With this platform defence probably went the outer rampart, no. 1, that is still traceable all along the south slope of the hill. It was found to be a bank of earth revetted on the outside with big undressed blocks, generally set on edge, less often piled up to form a couple of courses. It, too, like rampart 2, may well have been just the support for a palisade.

Finally after both systems of defence had fallen into desuetude, hut-circles were erected on the terrace left by the collapse which still afforded the most level surface on the south side of the hill. Hut-circle 1, 12 ft. west of section I, was built upon the stump of rampart 4 and used in its north wall slabs from the inner face of that rampart. It may have been 15 ft. in diameter and certainly extended southward over the midden deposit between rampart 4 and the crest of rampart 3. No hearth or drain and hardly any paving survived. Circle 2, 80 ft. west of section I, was 12-14 ft. in diameter, well paved in its northern half, provided with a central rectangular hearth and a drain running north and south just beside the latter. The south wall of hut-circle 2 definitely abutted upon the crest of rampart 3 and stood against and upon the pile of stones formed by the collapse of its revetment, while none of the stones fallen therefrom lay within the circle nor upon its floor. Hence these huts were built only when the latest inner rampart of the fort had collapsed. Dr. Bersu tells me that he has observed a similar relation between hut-circles and earlier ramparts in Welsh forts. At Kaimes Hill itself one hut-circle seems to stand upon the outer rampart 1 too, but lying outside the threatened area could not be examined. We must also await the excavation of more habitable areas of the hill in happier times for evidence to date the several occupations so far distinguished only structurally.

A sporting or mythological relief-mould from Roman Britain.—The following note is submitted by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes, F.S.A.:—The oval clay mould illustrated (with an impression) in pl. xci, has been given to the British Museum by Mr. Robert W. Bray, building inspector to the borough of Kettering, Northants.

It was found in 1938 in building-excavations on the estate now known as Walnut Crescent, on high ground adjoining the town of Kettering, in a thick deposit of burnt earth and refuse suggesting rubbish from a kiln, at about 4 ft. 6 in. from the surface. Numerous potsherds at this level included colour-coated ware perhaps of the third century, and grey-ware sherds were found down to 6 ft. The mould is of light orange-buff clay, rather unevenly fashioned by hand, but with the front definitely concave, as though to fit the curve of a pot: its purpose seems in fact to have been the ornamentation of pots by the 'applied relief' method, popular in the third century in Gaul.¹ Its length is 9.1 cm., greatest breadth 4.6 cm., average thickness 1.5 cm. No other example seems to be known from Roman Britain, though the

¹ Déchelette, *Vases céramiques ornés*, ii, 167 ff.

applied-relief ornament of the 'Smith's vase' from Colchester and of related pieces from Chester-le-Street and Corbridge presents analogies and covers the same period¹; it would appear that the Kettering potter was imitating in his own fashion the technique he must have known from the greatly superior Gaulish work. The figure-subject is, however, unknown in Gaul, and equally so in the analogous Pannonian series of moulds recently published by Alföldi in *Laureae Aquincenses*, i (*Dissertationes Pannonicae*, 2 S., no. 10). A youthful figure, with no clear indication of sex, stands to front in the act of 'serving', with a curved stick held aloft in the right hand, a succession of three balls, of which one is already flying through the air, the second is held ready in the left hand, and the third in the crook of the left arm.

At all events, this is the most natural interpretation. The only hint of a possible alternative is provided by pl. LXXV of Alföldi's publication just cited, a circular mould from Brigetio (in the museum of Komárom, Hungary) depicting the Judgement of Paris. For Paris, though there a fully-clothed figure with a Phrygian cap, seated on a rock under a tree, has in his left hand a curved stick which is very like that held by our figure. Yet in the mythological context (the scene is of course Mount Ida, and five of Paris's sheep are shown as well as the three rival goddesses) this can only be a shepherd's crook. If our figure were Paris, and his stick a similar crook, what have been called balls could be explained as apples. For one could do so by saying that the Romano-British maker of this mould, knowing there were three goddesses in the story but not understanding the point of their competition, supposed that Paris, instead of awarding his one apple to Venus, had three apples ready, one for each goddess. Of course, for this theory it is a pity there are no goddesses shown; at the same time, antiquity has given us renderings of the Judgement where there is no apple shown, and not only that, but no Paris. One of them, as has been thought by several eminent scholars, is the famous Corbridge Lanx (see Haverfield, *J.R.S.* iv, 11-12 and frontispiece), and if, in the third or fourth century A.D., such conscious or unconscious variations of the theme were possible to the sophisticated artists of the Greek cities, to what might it not descend in the hands of a country potter of Roman Britain?

However, it should not be thought that the more straightforward explanation of the figure as a ball-game player is simply guesswork at a venture. One of the most popular pieces of Hellenic sculpture discovered in modern times is the 'hockey-bully' relief, of the late sixth century B.C., found in 1922 built into the Themistoclean city-wall of Athens,² and here both the two players engaged in the 'bully', and three of the four supporters standing two behind each of them, have a curved stick of the identical sort held by the Kettering figure. And that such a curved stick was a distinctive essential of a Greek game, presumably the ball-game there depicted, appears from

¹ May, *Colchester Pottery Cat.* 146-7; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle*, 3 S., x, 20; *Antiq. Journ.* ix, 157, 255.

² *J.H.S.* xcii, 105, with pl. vii, 2; xcv, 164; *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1925, 79 ff.; *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 1926, 283; B. Schröder, *Der Sport im Altertum*, 85-6, with taf. 21, 1.

Plutarch's mention of a statue, in a ball-court at Athens, of the orator Isocrates in boyhood *κερητιζων*, that is, playing the *κέρας*-game, the horn-game, the game you play with something curved like a horn.¹

Furthermore, games of this kind need not have been confined to Greece. The late Dr. E. N. Gardiner, in discussing the Athenian relief, assigns a high antiquity—he suggests the second century A.D.—to a game of 'hockey, or hucky', in Celtic Ireland,² and in this he follows the historian of hockey in 'The Sports Library', who, writing in 1900, was able to claim that the game existed in Ireland 'two thousand years ago'.³ At all events a medieval antiquity for a game of this kind in Ireland, Scotland, and England is well attested, under the names, variously applied, of hockey, hurling, shinty, and bandy. A well-known illustration in the early-fourteenth-century 'Smithfield Decretals',⁴ reproduced by Dr. Gardiner,⁵ shows two men engaged in a 'bully' just like that on the Athenian relief, only with a rather larger ball and a correspondingly heavier, two-handed version of the same curved stick. From this stick the name *cambuca*, also current for a pastoral staff or crozier, became applied in contemporary Latin to the game itself,⁶ thus emphasizing the importance of the curved shape, and Strutt was led to connect *cambuca* or 'bandy-ball' with golf, which in his day (140 years ago) was played with a club of the same shape, the curvature faced with horn.⁷ Whether emerging in modern times in the form of hockey or of golf, there appears to be a good case for the antiquity of a ball-game played with such a stick in these islands, and notably in Ireland and Scotland, whence one may reasonably take it to be an element of Celtic culture. Whether or no Strutt⁸ was right in further identifying it with the game called in Roman times *paganica*, from its rustic or provincial character, we have seen that the Celtic game certainly had a classical counterpart, and thus the existence of something of the kind in Roman Britain is only what one might expect.

Perhaps this is what the Kettering relief-mould represents. Its most awkward feature, from this point of view, is its deliberate portrayal of three balls for only one player; but this sort of stick-ball or bat-ball game may also carry some affinity to tennis, and several balls would then be quite in order for a 'server', such as we began by seeing in the Kettering figure. Possibly another fortunate find will one day bring us more evidence; meanwhile, there is still room for individual preference in providing the figure with an interpretation.

¹ Plutarch, *Isocrates* 4; first pointed out by M. Oikonomos in 'Αρχ. Δελτίον 6, 56-9.

² *Athletics of the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), 236-8, with fig. 213.

³ H. F. Prevost Battersby, *Football, Hockey, Lacrosse*, 'The Sports Library' (1900), 80.

⁴ B.M. Royal MS. 10 E IV, f. 95.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*; see also British Museum Postcards, set 58, *Medieval Sports and Pastimes*, all from this MS.

⁶ Baxter and Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List* (1934), s.v. *cambuca*: 'game of hockey' (1363).

⁷ *Sports and Pastimes*, ed. J. Charles Cox (1903), 97-8 (cf. 91-2).

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

Excavations in the Forum of Verulamium (Insula XII) 1939.—Mr. Philip Corder, F.S.A., sends this and the following note:—After the demolition of St. Germain's Farm in 1935 preparatory to the erection of the Verulamium Museum, excavations conducted by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., revealed the north-east corner of the Forum, at the point where Watling Street intersected the main east and west road through the city (*St. Albans & Herts. A. & A. Transactions* (1935), pp. 312 ff.; *Antiquaries Journ.* xvii, 38–42).

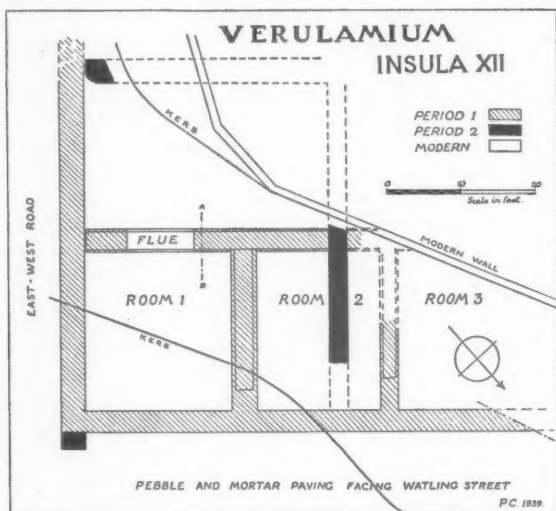


FIG. 1. Plan of the East Corner of the Forum of Verulamium

The relaying of the road south-west of the Verulamium Museum in the spring of 1939, and the digging of a drain from the new vestry of St. Michael's church, provided an opportunity of making several additions to the plan of the Forum. I am indebted to Mr. F. T. Negus, City Surveyor, and to Messrs. J. T. Bushell Ltd. for help and facilities for undertaking this investigation.

In 1935 Mr. Lowther partially excavated three rooms facing Watling Street, extending northwards from the east corner of the Forum, and investigated the stratification connected with them, but he did not excavate any of these walls to their foundations (*Antiq. Journ. loc. cit.*, fig. 5). By means of two deep pits in the middle of the road it has now been possible to complete the plans of rooms 1 and 2, and to make the remarkable discovery that their walls, at least in the south and west corners of room 1, were carried down in solid masonry no less than 7 ft. below the offsets marking the original floor-level of the rooms, that is about 10 ft. below the modern road surface.

Room 1. Room 1 (fig. 1) was nearly square, being 20 ft. from north to south

and 21 ft. 3 in. from east to west.¹ Its west wall was 2 ft. 6 in. thick, having additional offsets on both sides of about 3 in., about 18 in. above its foundations, which were thus 3 ft. wide. It was not bonded into the main south wall of the building, but made a butt joint throughout its whole surviving height of 10 ft. It was, however, one build with the wall separating rooms 1 and 2, which was of the same dimensions, and was itself bonded into the main east wall of the building. All three walls of the room had been levelled to their lowest brick course and presented a flat top in the mortar of which the imprints of the removed tiles were visible. As will be seen later, there was reason to think that the levelling of the west and north walls had taken place in Roman times. The stratification described by Mr. Lowther was confirmed. His level I ('building debris') contained masses of cement floor, at least 6 in. thick, resting on a bed of tiles. In the north-west corner of the room, resting on the offsets of the walls, a portion of this cement floor remained *in situ* set on two superimposed tiles to a total thickness of a foot. That it had formed the floor of a hypocaust was proved when the side of a very wide flue opening was discovered in the west wall, 5 ft. 6 in. from the west corner. This was about 8 ft. wide and had a flattish roof, not arched in brick, as might have been expected, 2 ft. 10 in. below the surviving top of the wall, and on a level with the bottom of the layer containing debris of the broken floor. This flue opening had at some time been filled up with a packing of very large flints. The ragged state of this opening suggests that it had been originally finished in brick, as is usual at Verulamium, and that the tiles had been robbed when the north and west walls of the room were levelled. This would partly account for its unusual width. It was not possible to excavate deeply on the west side of the wall, but there was no indication that there had been a furnace there. One must suppose that the room was the last of a centrally heated suite, the furnace lying farther westward. The butt joint that the west wall of the room made with the main south wall is not easy to explain, except on the assumption that the walls were built counter-clockwise and the main south wall finished first. They were certainly contemporary. The remarkable depth of the footings of all three walls can hardly be accounted for by the presence of this hypocaust, for they are all three built in masonry to a depth of 7 ft. below the tile layer upon which the floor rested. It was difficult, when working in so confined a space, to be certain when the natural clay and gravel had been reached. There was no sign of a foundation trench cut to receive the walls, and flecks of charcoal and early sherds were found more than 7 ft. beneath the surviving top of the main south wall. It is at least a possibility to be borne in mind that the Fosse earthwork around the first Roman city traversed the site. The south side of the Fosse must have been filled up before the erection of the second-century defences. If it were parallel to the north, as the plan suggests, it may lie beneath the Verulamium Museum, and the very deep footing of the Forum walls hereabouts may have been necessitated by the presence of the filled Fosse ditch. It would, of course, have been interrupted for the passage of the pre-existing Watling Street, and this would explain why Mr. Lowther,

¹ For convenience in the following description the side of the Forum facing Watling Street is referred to as the east side, and so forth.

who was able to examine little more than the Watling Street frontage of the building in 1935, encountered no trace of it, but only the metalling of the early Watling Street.¹

Further evidence in support of this suggestion was derived from the

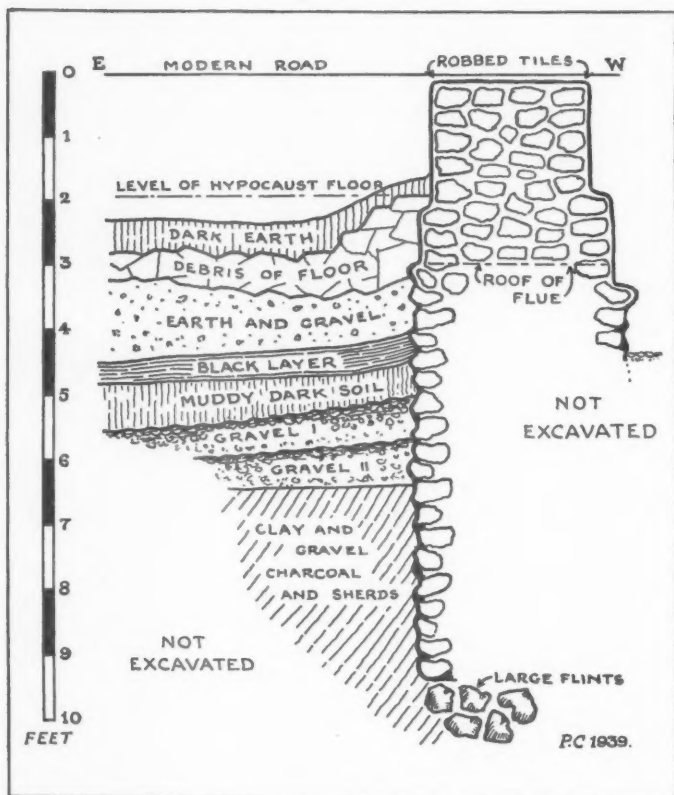


FIG. 2. Section AB

excavation of the deep holes required for the foundations of the Verulamium Museum to the east of Watling Street. Prof. J. B. Ward Perkins, F.S.A., who watched the excavation, has told me that the front of the building overlies disturbed soil to a depth of 7-14 ft., containing large quantities of first-century pottery, much of it of Belgic type. In contrast with this, the disturbance at the south end is limited to 3-5 ft., and the little material it contained appeared mostly to belong to the second century. On the west

¹ Against the suggestion here put forward is the fact that extensive trenching to the west of St. Michael's vicarage, south of Blue House Hill, failed to locate the filled Fosse ditch (*Verulamium*, p. 50).

was the robbed site of Watling Street, and across the south end of the building ran the east-west road, described by Mr. Lowther (*Antiq. Journ.* xvii, 41). Both of these roads were confirmed by the finding of pipe-lines. In short it appeared that a very large ditch of early date ran across part of the museum site, but terminated before it encountered the line of Watling Street.

Room 2. Crossing Room 2 at a higher level than its first period walls, a secondary wall associated with a mortar floor was discovered by Mr. Lowther. The junction of this wall with the earlier west wall of the room was uncovered by us. The lower part of the wall, with a 4-in. offset on the south, associated with a mortar floor 6-8 in. thick, butted up against the earlier wall, but the upper part, standing 15 in. high, was carried right over it. It follows that this secondary wall marks a complete rearrangement of the rooms in the south-east corner of the Forum, which involved the leveling of the earlier north and west walls of room 1.

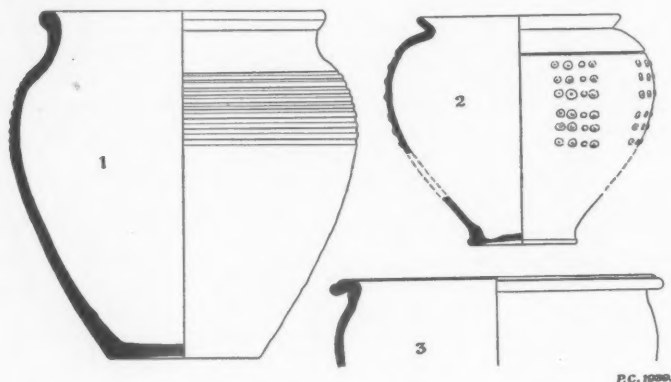
The main south wall of the Forum was traced across the modern road for about 44 ft. At a point 43 ft. 9 in., measured from the corner along the inner face of the wall, a secondary wall of exactly similar construction to that just described was encountered, making a butt-joint with the main south wall. It was impossible to follow this more than a very short distance, but it seems probable that it formed the west wall of the reconstructed room, which superseded rooms 1 and 2 in period 2. If so, the new room measured 33 ft. by 43 ft. 9 in.

Excavations in St. Michael's Churchyard, St. Albans.—The cutting of a narrow trench for a drain from the new vestry on the north of the chancel of St. Michael's church to the school playground exposed the main east wall of the Forum at a point 101 ft. from the north-west corner of the parish room, and 48 ft. 10 in. from the chancel wall. It was 3 ft. wide and fell in line exactly with the known sections of the east wall of the Forum (*Antiq. Journ.*, loc. cit., fig. 4). The trench, however, produced a surprise in the form of a well-built wall of flint rubble, 3 ft. thick, running parallel to this, 14 ft. east of its east face. This wall stood upon a single tile-course, carried through the thickness of the wall, above masonry 1 ft. 8 in. deep. To the east of it the trench cut through the successive layers of Watling Street, though disturbance by wall-robbers made it impossible to connect any layer of the road with the wall. The wall was, however, of late construction. The point where it was cut lies only slightly south of the middle of the east side of the Forum. It may be conjectured, in the absence of direct dating evidence, that the Forum was reconstructed, like other public buildings of the city, c. A.D. 300, and that a projecting porch was added hereabouts, facing the road running from it to the north-east gateway at St. Michael's Ford.

The trench in the churchyard was not carried deep enough to encounter any Roman levels, if indeed these survive, but it produced a fragment of a polished Purbeck slab and a lump from a column of limestone, 2 ft. 3 in. in diameter, having a plain concave capital.

The Pottery. All sherds from beneath the debris of the destroyed floor of room 1 were of first-century date. The cookpot (no. 1) was found partly in

the black layer, partly in the dark muddy soil beneath it, and partly in and under the layer marked 'gravel I' (which was interpreted by Mr. Lowther as the surface of the earlier Watling Street). The layer of muddy soil beneath the black layer produced also a globular beaker (no. 2), and a bowl (no. 3) came from the black layer with a group of indeterminate early sherds. All these must belong to a date not later than the earliest stone building on the site.



Pottery from the East Corner of the Forum, Verulamium (4)

1. Very hard unsmoothed grey cook-pot, with a series of corrugations around the upper part of the body. In form this closely resembles the Belgic cookpots from Prae Wood (*Verulamium*, type 61), but its fabric is much harder than that of any of those. The form does not seem to have long survived the Conquest (cf. *Lockleys, Welwyn*, fig. 7, nos. 21, 30, from the second Belgic level, dated A.D. 20-60, and its later development, *ibid.*, fig. 13, no. 10, dated A.D. 60-70).

2. Pear-shaped beaker of dark red-brown ware with grey core and black polished body, the darker coating not extending to the base. The plain rim is sharply everted. Decorated on the body with panels of raised dots *en barbotine*. Beakers of this form are common in the Flavian period. Cf. *Hofheim*, type 118 (late Flavian-Trajan); *Silchester*, 156, 158; *Colchester* 298; *Malton*, fig. 15, no. 17.

3. Hard brown-grey bowl, unsmoothed except on the upper surface of the grooved rim. This resembles *Hofheim*, type 91B (Vespasian). Cf. *Richborough*, iii, 221, dated A.D. 50-75.

A Romano-British site at Sawtry, Huntingdonshire.—Dr. J. R. Garrood, Local Secretary for Huntingdonshire, reports the following:—During the reconstruction works on the Great North Road in 1939 a Romano-British site was exposed by the mechanical scrapers. The site was about 100 yards long and lay due south of the winding road leading from Sawtry to the Great North Road, known as Tort Hill (or Toft Hill on the ordnance map).

There were four or more dark rectangular areas lying roughly north and south on the east carriageway of the new road. Each was about 12 ft. long by 10 to 12 ft. wide; there was no evidence of post-holes or brick or stone walls, but the areas were rich in pottery and bones. On the east side was a thin gravel and cobble pathway which ran north and south and extended 3 ft. beyond the boundary of the new road. On the west half of the new road there were at least three well-marked rubbish-pits, the deepest 6 ft. from the original surface; they contained black soil, pottery, and bones. There was also a pit north of the site near Tort Hill. An inscribed stone was found on the southern part of the site a little to the east of the centre of the roadway. Unfortunately it was damaged by the scraper, but I have been able to repair it to a great extent. It is 26 in. long, 24 in. wide, and 9 in. thick; the inscription is on the longer edge, and a possible reading is PVBLIC (pl. xcii, 1).

Pottery. Samian. The following potters' marks occur: ROTTALIM. Rotallus late Antonine on form D. 33, slightly campanulate. PRISCINI MANV. Priscus, Lezoux or central Gaul, A.D. 117-61, on a small base, probably D. 33; also several indecipherable. There are about a dozen ornamented fragments. Miss M. V. Taylor is of the opinion that they are mostly of the middle of the second century, a few a little later, but none after the second century. The following forms can be identified from fragments: 18, 18-31, 27, 36, 37, 35, 33, 31, 38. Three small fragments of Samian mortaria occur.

Castor ware. This was found in considerable quantity; all the usual forms of ornament were found.

Coarse pottery. The commonest type was the ordinary hard grey pottery; there was also a good deal of gritted ware.

The following vessels were reconstructed in whole or in part. *An indented beaker* of Castor ware with seven indentations. The ridges between are covered with scale ornament, the rim is straight and base conjectural. Height 8.5 in.; rim diameter 4.2 in.; maximum diameter 6.4 in. Of cream paste, brown-fumed surface, except where turned light red by fire. From rubbish-pit C, near the centre of the road, in Rookery Field.

A globular bowl of Castor ware; it has a straight rim with a set off below on which presumably rested a lid. The base is wide and flat. Height 6 in.; rim diameter 7 in.; maximum 8.5 in.; base 6.5 in. Of cream paste, blue-red surface inside, light red outside, rim black. There is a band of rouletting 3.8 in. wide below the rim. The vessel is similar to one found in a kiln at Castor by Artis. From rubbish-pit Z on the west side of the road near the gate leading to Rookery Field.

Globular flask. This has an everted rim with a flilled collar at the base of the narrow neck with two girth grooves at the base of the shoulder, the short cylindrical base is hollow. Height 8.8 in.; rim diameter 3.6 in.; neck 2.9 in.; maximum 7.4 in.; base 3.1 in. There is a cream paste and surface which is ornamented by bands of light red painted lines on the neck, shoulder, and body. From rubbish-pit Z.

Indented beaker. With six indentations, moulded everted rim. Shallow-grooved bands on shoulder and body, tapering base and spreading foot.

Height 9.9 in.; rim diameter 5.5 in.; maximum 7 in.; base 2.8 in. Of grey colour with lighter paste surface fairly smooth. From rubbish-pit C.

Two pie dishes and three other vessels of ordinary character have been rebuilt.

Store-jars. Many rims of these occur, some showing a rim diameter up to 14 in. They are of circular and rectangular sections, often with a heavy bead bordered by grooves just above the neck. Most are of bright red gritted ware. Body fragments show girth grooves and combing, bases are from 5 in. to 10 in. in diameter. The jars are coarse and roughly made, probably locally.

Mortaria. A number of fragments were found with rim-types of from the late first to the fourth century. One potter's mark occurs, LOCCIP reversed, probably early second century. A red-flanged specimen has quartz grit, probably fourth century; another of similar date has brown paint with fine black grit. There is a number of hammer-head types with reeded rims. One has a vertical reeded rim, probably fourth century.

Colanders. Several fragments were found. One is round below, the others are flat.

Cheese strainer. Part of a disc of hard sandy dark brown pottery with grey core. Two concentric ridges are present on the small fragment, which indicates a diameter of 5 in. There are no perforations between the ridges on the fragment as is usual in other specimens from this county.

It would appear that this was a small roadside hamlet doubtless with 'accommodation for travellers', as is still the case in the immediate neighbourhood. The inscription on the stone has a cheerful sound in this connexion. The settlement seems to have lasted from the second to the fourth centuries.

I am very much indebted to the Ministry of Transport, who preserved so much of the material and has entrusted it to the Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Archaeological Society, to the Huntingdonshire County Council, and all their officers, particularly Mr. Ian MacIaen, B.Sc., who not only kept a very sharp look out for objects, but reconstructed a number of vessels, also to Messrs. Tarmac, the contractors, who gave every assistance, and their men, who showed interest in saving as much as possible under difficult conditions.

Small bronzes from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury.—Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, F.S.A., contributes the following:—Bronzes belonging to the Christian Saxon period are sufficiently rare to justify the illustration of five small objects from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The first four were found during the clearance of the cloister below the ground-level of the Norman period, a position which indicates a pre-Conquest date.

(1) Stylus, 4 in. long. A slight moulding marks the junction between the shaft and the eraser.

(2) Stylus, 4 in. long. The base of the eraser is clasped by a slight moulding with a scalloped lower margin. In the centre of the shaft is a plain raised band bordered on each side by a fringe of small tongues.

The bronze stylus, used for making rough notes on waxed tablets, was



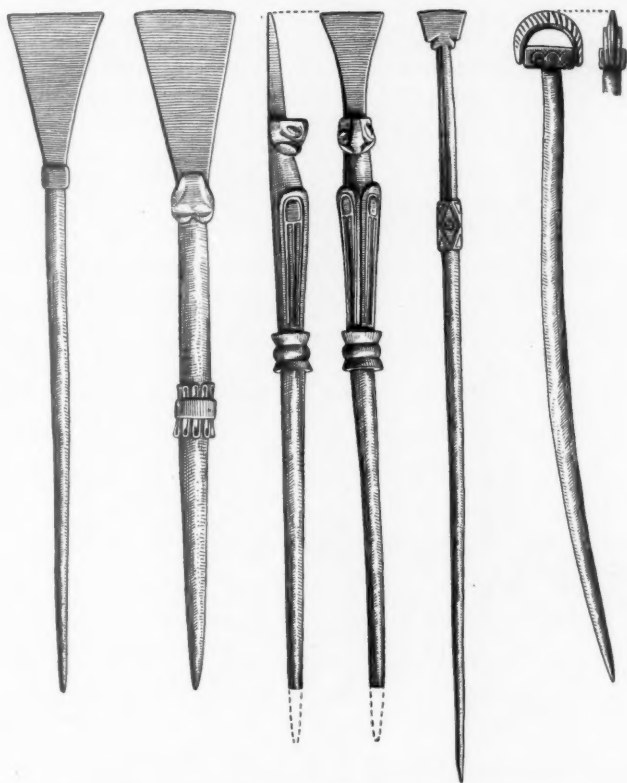
1. Inscribed stone from Sawtry, Hunts.



2. Pottery vessels from Sawtry, Hunts.

commonly carried by monks. The two found at Canterbury may be compared with the large series from the Saxon Abbey at Whitby (report in *Archaeologia*, forthcoming).

(3) Styliform bronze pin, 4 in. long. Small head. Point missing. The knop at the top of the shaft is rudely fashioned as a beast's head. The upper



Saxon bronzes from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (1)

part of the shaft, terminated by an angular moulding, is modelled with two clasped wings, each with lightly incised ornament. The whole has the appearance of a grasshopper. The back of the pin is flat.

(4) Styliform pin, 4½ in. long. Small head. On the upper part of the shaft is a faceted knop with lightly engraved decoration.

These styliform pins were common in Gaul. Those with a small head like the two described are normally Merovingian. Whitby yielded one with a large head like the Carolingian forms found in Gaul (report in *Archaeologia*, forthcoming). These hair-pins which normally belong to women may have

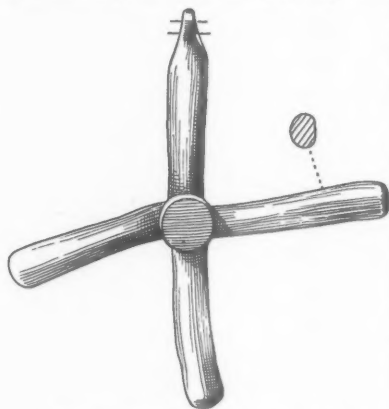
reached the abbey in the early period with the burials of ladies of the Kentish royal house.

(5) Crutch-headed pin, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. long. A small ring is hinged on the head, which is decorated with ring and dot pattern. The pin is a purely Irish type. It stands early in the series and is unlikely to be later than the seventh century (*Archaeologia*, lxxii, 78, pl. xiii, 1). Found in an empty grave on the site of the tower at the west end of the Church. This area was used in the late eleventh century for the temporary disposal of burials removed from the old church of St. Mary when this was demolished by Abbot Scotland (*Archaeologia*, lxi, 391; cf. *ibid.* lxxvii, pl. xxiii, 2). These included some of the earliest burials. The pin was probably brought at this time and overlooked when the relics were translated into the new church.

Pins are not uncommon in Christian burials. They were used to fasten the shroud. Hair-pins like nos. 3 and 4 may either have served this purpose or have been put to their original use in female burials.

A medieval leaden cross from Whitby.—Mr. Radford also sends the following:—The area of the Saxon monastery explored at Whitby (report forthcoming in *Archaeologia*) lay mainly within the cemetery of the

medieval abbey, which was founded c. 1078. Several gravestones and a small number of objects belonging to the abbey were found. Few of these present features of interest, but an unusual type of lead cross is worth recording.



Lead burial cross from Whitby ($\frac{2}{3}$)

Rude leaden cross measuring 3.6 in. The lower arm is circular in section, the others flattened behind. A thick circular boss projects in front of the junction of the arms. The top is pierced transversely for suspension. The edges of the hole are sharp and unworn, and its size (diameter 2 mm.) is insufficient to take a cord capable of carrying the cross if subjected to any sudden strain. It was therefore intended for a corpse.

Flat leaden crosses with inscriptions are found in many graves of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries in France and England (Cochet, *Sépultures gauloises, romaines, franques et normandes*, 300; *Archaeologia*, xxxv, 298; *Antiq. Journ.* iv, 422). Normally these bear a formula of absolution, often with the name of the person buried. But a few have texts which suggest exorcism rather than absolution. Two from the monastic cemetery at Bury St. Edmunds are typical. On them is written +crux xpi triumphat+ +crux xpi pellit hostem+ (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, Ser. I, iii, 165). A third from the same site is uninscribed like that from Whitby, and though the form of the latter is different, the rough and irregular workmanship of the inscribed crosses may be compared.

Durandus, bishop of Mende in the later part of the thirteenth century, writes that holy water should be placed in a grave to preserve the dead from the assaults of the devil, an idea clearly indicated by the formulae used at Bury. He further notes that in a burial outside a cemetery a cross should be placed on the head of the corpse 'ad notandum illum christianum fuisse quia hoc signum diabolus valde veretur et timet accedere ad locum Crucis signaculo insignitum' (*Rationale divinorum officiorum*, VII. xxxv, 38 & 39). The discoveries of these crosses show that their use was obsolete before 1200, but the exceptional survival recorded by Durandus explains the more extended custom of an earlier century.

A crucifix figure from Ludgvan church, Cornwall.—Sir Eric Maclagan, F.S.A., sends the following note:—Some years ago when a wall in Ludgvan church (between St. Ives and Penzance) in Cornwall was being restored a lead figure of Christ from a crucifix, unfortunately much mutilated, was discovered. The figure, which was laid on the table at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 9th May, is at present in the hands of the widow of the late rector, Canon Boscawen, who died last July; she is proposing to replace it in some suitable position in the church, and it was with her permission that it was shown.

The figure (pl. xciii) in its present state is just under 5 in. in height. The lead is considerably decayed in many places and will be treated at the Victoria and Albert Museum before its return to Cornwall; there are distinct remains of reddish colour in various places.

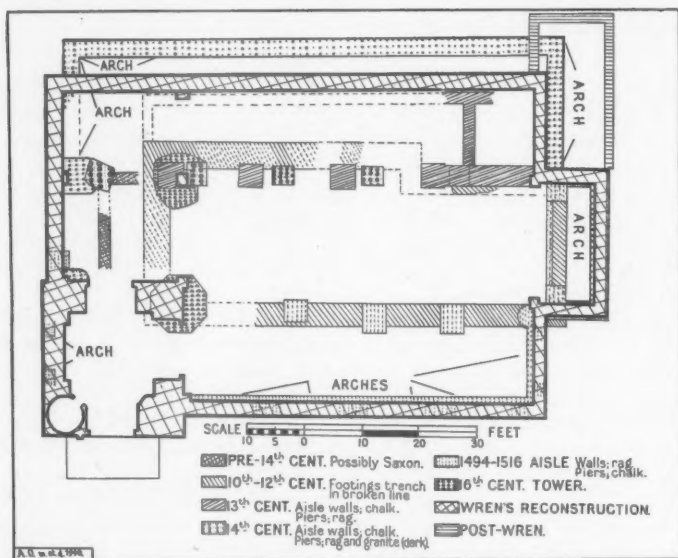
The character of the modelling, so far as it has been preserved (particularly the treatment of the ribs), and the ample folds of the loin-cloth falling down as far as the knees or even below them, suggest a date in the fourteenth century. The lead figure may be compared with the large ivory figure (A. 2-1921) in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the bronze gilt figure (M. 74-1925) in the same collection. The treatment of the loin-cloth in particular is markedly different from the skimpy, tightly folded cloth which normally figures on the many fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century English crucifix figures which have been preserved.

An English medieval gold finger-ring.—Dr. Philip Nelson, F.S.A., sends the following note:—The finger-ring here illustrated is of English workmanship, c. 1300, and was recently found in Durham. Its design is quite unusual, in that the central stone, a cabochon sapphire, in a deep pentagonal moulded setting, has placed about it, at the four cardinal points, small detached box-settings to contain cabochon emeralds. The shoulders of the ring are enriched with incised chevrons and small punched-in circles. The diameter of the ring is $\frac{3}{4}$ in.



English medieval finger ring ($\frac{1}{2}$)

The Church of All Hallows, Lombard St.—Mr. Adrian Oswald, F.S.A., sends the following note: Observation and excavation on the site of All Hallows Church, Lombard St., where demolition has been in progress since 1939, have yielded interesting results. The work has been undertaken on behalf of the Guildhall Museum and the Society, who made a grant towards the cost of excavation. It is hoped to publish a full report which will supplement the brief conclusions here stated and will include the Roman and Post-Medieval discoveries. The writer wishes to acknowledge his debt to



Plan of All Hallows church, Lombard Street

the President and Director of the Society, to the Chief Librarian at the Guildhall, to the Directors of Barclay's Bank and their architects and contractors, to Messrs. J. W. Bloe, F.S.A., and Francis Taylor, and last but not least to his colleague, Mr. Quintin Waddington, F.S.A.

The footings of a small church were encountered in the centre of the site, at a depth of 10-18 ft. below street level. They had been much robbed and disturbed. The walls were built of ragstone rubble and reused Roman tiles and bricks rammed between layers of clean gravel. No concrete evidence of date was recovered, but the small fragments of pottery from the walls suggested a pre-twelfth century origin. No deep burials occurred between these walls, although plentiful outside; moreover, the Roman strata within the enclosing walls were undisturbed at a higher level than elsewhere. These facts suggest that this building occupied this portion of the site at a relatively early date. It is possible that portions of these walls belonged to the church given by Brihtmaer to Christ Church, Canterbury,



Crucifix figure from Ludgvan church, Cornwall (1)

in 1053, this gift being our earliest record of a church on this site. The difference in width (but not in structure) of the north and south walls suggests a possibility of reconstruction on the south, in which case the very fragmentary north wall might represent the earlier church and nave.¹

West of this structure were two slight walls of pitched ragstone and soft yellow mortar. They lay on undisturbed Roman levels at a depth of 18 ft. and had been cut by a fourteenth-century pier. Their depth suggests an early date and in the view of the President of the Society they may represent part of the earliest Saxon church.

In the thirteenth century an aisle of chalk, with ragstone piers, was added on the north of the old nave. Remains of this aisle were exceedingly fragmentary, but were clearly dated by complete piers built into the walls.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century (the date rests on the uncertain evidence of inlaid tiles) a new north aisle with chalk walls and ragstone and granite piers was built. This aisle, portions of which were carried on vaulting arches, outstripped the old nave, and fragments of chalk foundations suggest a centrally placed tower at the west end, contemporary with the new aisle.

The south aisle, according to Stow (Strype, ed. 1720, i, ii, 155), was erected between 1494 and 1516. Its foundations, which later had been reused by Wren, were carried on massive vaulting arches the weight of which necessitated special strengthening at the east end along the line of the old east wall of the early church. This reinforcement incorporated fifteenth-century architectural detail. The piers of this aisle were of chalk.

Again, according to Stow (see above), the steeple was finished in 1544. This is apparently represented by the two massive piers (one hexagonal) of rag and brick centrally placed at the west end of the church. The northern of these piers was superimposed on the piers of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century aisles, while part of the southern was used by Wren in his restoration of 1686. In this latter rebuilding the thirteenth-century north aisle wall was largely destroyed and the fourteenth-century aisle wall abandoned for the sake of symmetry with the south aisle.

Finds from the site have been exceedingly interesting, the most noteworthy (within the life of the church) being a silver penny of Edward the Confessor, a fine series of Spanish Majolica tiles of the early sixteenth century, and the contents of a glass seller's shop of the time of the Great Fire.

¹ For a very similar ground plan of two Dark Age churches see *Bonn. Jahrbuch*, 1934, Beilage 4, opp. p. 184: Church foundations under Xanten Cathedral.

Reviews

A History of Cyprus. Volume I. To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart. By SIR GEORGE HILL. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$. Pp. xviii + 352. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1940.

The writing of this work was undertaken by Sir George Hill with 'the wish to clear up in his own mind the facts about a subject which has interested him for more than thirty years', because many 'must feel that some sort of guide through the maze of authorities is desirable'. Readers will be under a great debt to the author for many years to come. Every chapter deals with one highly specialized subject, often with more, generally subjects where diverse views have to be critically handled; Sir George's wide learning and skill in presentation alone give his treatment unity and concentration of purpose. Here indeed are the facts, presented in order and made intelligible in their interrelations; here are the problems, stated clearly and seen in their proper proportions, the worthless accumulations of unnecessary assumptions or plain error (not uncommon in books on this subject) stripped from them. The chapters on the Successors, the Ptolemies, and the Roman Province are models of clarity and an index of recent advance in studies once much neglected. An excellent example of the statement of problems will be found in the discussion of the Moslem invasion. Those who, like the reviewer, had been accustomed to accept the account in Weir's edition of Muir's *The Caliphate, Its Rise Decline, and Fall*, will be surprised to find the evidence so contradictory and difficult to interpret.

No reviewer could pretend to deal with all the aspects of this book. And since Cyprus is a subject which most Orientalists have been glad to leave on one side as outside their province and their competence, it may seem inappropriate to single out a single aspect, the Phoenician question, for special consideration in this *Journal*. But recently intensive work, especially by French and British missions in Syria, mentioned in this book, directly concern this question, and certain passages in the book constitute a summons to a clarification and perhaps a rectification of our views. Some day a great volume must be devoted to the question 'Who were the Phoenicians?' The answer will read rather like Professor Myres's *Who were the Greeks?* Do we mean inhabitants of the Syrian ports and the colonies planted thence after the beginning of the Iron Age? That probably is Hill's view of the name, but the result has been a verbal infelicity, if not a contradiction in terms, when he says (p. 98): 'If there was any communication between Cyprus and Phoenicia before the last phase of the Bronze Age, it was so slight that it can count for nothing in the historical development of the island. When the Phoenicians came they settled at one or two spots on the coast which already had a "Mycenaean" history.' The close connexion of Cyprus with the Syrian coast cities not only during the last phase of, but throughout, the Bronze Age is clearly recognized on pp. 27, 29, 30-1, 35; it is indeed so well established that the sentence about Phoenicia in the Bronze Age does not mean what it seems to mean.

This leads us to the main point. It is said (p. 98): 'The status of the Phoenician people, to whom it was formerly the fashion to attribute so many of the elements which went to make up Greek culture, has of late years been considerably diminished.' The former fashion must surely mean Movers's book; the 'late years' can hardly include the recent work which has tended to show that much that was thought Phoenician of the Iron Age belongs in fact to Syria between 1800 and 1200. That was bound to happen, for hard lines of division are due to historical ignorance. If we accept the weight of evidence, the Ahiram inscription from Byblos belongs to the thirteenth century, and proves that there were men speaking Phoenician who must have played some part in Cyprus at that time; if we do not accept that evidence, it is still true that the Ras Shamra inscriptions show that a Semitic dialect, as closely related to Phoenician as Cypriote Greek to Attic, must have been spoken by men who dealt with Cyprus in the fourteenth century. The limitation of Phoenicians to the Iron Age is not sound linguistically.

It is not applicable to the history of art. H. G. Payne said (*Necrocorinthia*, 53): 'Johansen's analysis of the Protocorinthian style has shown beyond the possibility of doubt that the first exotic influence to reach Corinth came, not directly from the Orient, but from the orientalizing art of the Creto-Cypriot region; further, that the connexion between Corinth and Crete was maintained at an advanced period of the seventh century.' But there is no such geographical entity as a 'Creto-Cypriot region', and this must join 'Cypro-Mycenaean' and the more recent 'Levanto-Helladic' of Sjöquist in limbo; what happened clearly was that themes which had come to Cyprus from Syria passed across to Crete, suffering a sea-change on the way, and went thence to the mainland, and Payne stated the case much better in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, no. xxix, 281-2. Though Cyprus did not pass this influence on till about 800-750 B.C., the themes are those borrowed from Syria many centuries before. Examples are the winged griffin, see Frankfort in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, no. xxxvii, 106-22; the Gorgo type, see Clarke Hopkins, 'Assyrian elements in the Perseus-Gorgon Story', in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xxxviii, 341-58; the rosette, see Payne in *Necrocorinthia*, *ibid.*, E. D. van Buren in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (N.F.), xi, 99-107, an important matter in Cyprus, since the rosettes on the polos-like head-dress of terra-cotta figurines of the sixth century are connected with those on the similar head-dress of ivory heads from Nimrud of the ninth century; the polychrome orientalizing style on Cretan pottery ultimately derived from Cyprus, see Payne in the *Annual*, *ibid.*, but that goes back to a Palestinian and Syrian style of the seventeenth to fifteenth centuries. Examples of time-lag, owing to what Professor Collingwood, *An Autobiography*, 140-1, calls incapsulation, could be multiplied. The best instance is the invention of the alphabet. Hill quotes with approval Rhys Carpenter's original, and probably true, observation, *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlii, 67, that 'whoever adapted the Semitic alphabet to vocalic as well as consonantal notation chose precisely the five vowels used in the Cypriote syllabary, in spite of the fact that a Greek ear heard at least seven vowels in the language'. But the Semitic alphabet was used centuries

earlier than this adaptation about 750–700 B.C.; alphabet and syllabary were used probably side by side—the absence of evidence must be accidental—in the island before the new discovery spread, according to Rhys Carpenter, like wildfire across Greek lands. It will not be possible seriously to maintain that these themes borrowed from Syria between 1800 and 1200 are not Phoenician. For the probability now is that Greeks called the Syrian coast people by this name because Canaanite, the current term in the fourteenth century, derives from a Hurrian word meaning red-purple, as *phoenix* does; see E. A. Speiser, 'The name *Phoinikes*' in *Language*, xii, 122–6.

This affects Hill's views on religion too. He has carefully examined the classical evidence; but the classical evidence is late, much of it bad or misleading. Of the Aphrodite cult at Amathus he says (p. 77): 'That it was of Phoenician origin we are entitled to deny, since it was only at a comparatively late date that the Phoenicians penetrated Cyprus.' Those Iron Age Phoenicians again! But the Greek name of the foam-born goddess is an epithet, not a name. There was an Asherat of the Sea in the fourteenth century; see Schaeffer, *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit*, 62–3; Dussaud, *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 71. She must be the same as the Astarte of whose connexion with the sea a tale was told in a barely intelligible papyrus fragment, see A. H. Gardiner, 'The Astarte Papyrus', in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 74–85. Hill himself recognizes, p. 13, that the conception of the 'foam-born' is probably due to natural phenomena near Paphos; it must have been quite primitive, reaching back to a time of which we know nothing. The point is, we find in a Semitic dialect closely connected with Phoenician a sea-goddess far earlier than anything Greek. This does not mean that the earlier goddess resembled Aphrodite in detail. The Greeks treated myths and artistic themes as they treated the alphabet; but in these cases they adapted, they did not invent. And to do them justice, they themselves were willing to admit the process, showing greater tolerance than some modern scholars.

Even the Iron Age Phoenicians come poorly off in this treatment. A certain number of metal bowls, belonging to a class that is widely spread, from Assyria in the East to Italy in the West, has been found in Cyprus. They may have been made on the island, as Dussaud believes, but no one yet has doubted that the men who made them came from Syrian workshops, or were trained by Syrians. The reason for this may be seen in the case of the Amathus silver bowl, of which, by the way, it is misleading to say that it 'has . . . come to light in the British Museum', since it was recognized by Professor Myres directly after I presented it to the Trustees in 1931. All the stylistic elements are Syrian and belong to the coast cities. The two figures carrying the Egyptian 'ankh' beside a sacred tree derive directly from a Syrian cylinder of about 1800–1750 B.C., published in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, iv, pl. xxiii, no. 1; the figures are degraded, the tree more fantastic. The siege scene belongs, not to the lively Mycenaean type, Evans, *Palace of Minos*, iii, fig. 52, but to the Syrian and Assyrian relief style, as does the chariot scene. Hill discusses this class on pp. 77–8, 101, 222, and says of the Amathus bowl, 'neither for it nor for the others of its class can a Phoenician origin be proven'. It is almost impossible to prove

such a point; but archaeologists will, I suspect, continue to call the class Phoenician for want of a better terse description. 'Mixo-oriental' (p. 222) will not do, for it appears to contrast the oriental and the mixed; and if mixed oriental is meant, there were several different mixed styles.

The book has been produced with great care, I have noticed only one misprint, p. 49, note 4, Jirju for Jirku. On p. 105 the odd wording of the translation from the Assyrian is not justified by the original; the 'great beams' belong to the next clause, which has been cut in citation. On p. 87 the mention of Reshef of 'Mukl' calls for some reference to recent discussions of the Palestinian deity Mekal. The work is a great boon to all interested in the Near East.

S. S.

Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the end of the Twelfth Century. By R. A. B. MYNORS. 17½ × 13. Pp. x + 91. Oxford: printed for the Dean and Chapter of Durham Cathedral at the University Press, 1939.

The destruction at the dissolution of the Monasteries does not bear thinking of; all the gold and silver work perished, almost all the paintings, tapestries, and vestments, the buildings came through least badly and next to the buildings the books, but medieval catalogues enable us to judge what a small proportion of these are left; take it all round scarcely more than 1 per cent. This may seem a low estimate, but we must remember the many lesser monasteries, of which some had considerable libraries; especially in country places they have left practically nothing, e.g. of 325 volumes at Titchfield we know of 3. In a town like Bury it was better; books lay about for generations. The best chance of survival was in the old cathedral churches of canons or monks: the foundation of the new sees came too late to save anything.

If we could choose which libraries should leave survivals perhaps we should put them into three classes: those whose traditions went back to the early days of the British and Anglo-Saxon churches, those which arose in what we may call the time of Ethelwold like Ely and Bury, and those dating from after the Conquest; of these naturally the oldest class comes first. Among them Canterbury, Durham, and Worcester stand out; we do not know what there may have been at Glastonbury or Malmesbury, but what is left from Exeter and Winchester begins mostly with the second period; let us be thankful that so much remains, though scattered, from Canterbury, the centre of the Roman mission, and, still in place, at Durham with its Lindisfarne tradition the representative of the Irish element.

At Durham some 350 books form the nucleus of the Chapter Library and another 142 are known to exist elsewhere, so we may put the number of surviving books at about 500. Those here treated, dating from before A.D. 1200, are 155, leaving some 350 from the last three centuries. The catalogue of A.D. 1396 contains about 500 volumes, and probably 200 or 250 were added in the last century or so (Christchurch, Canterbury is reckoned to have added about 500 between A.D. 1300 and 1520), so the final total cannot have fallen far short of 800, volumes, of course, not separate works, and not reckoning service-books.

These later acquisitions, with the evidence of continued care, use, and recopying of the older volumes, the addition of printed books in the latest decades of the Library's existence, and the housing of the whole in a special building by Prior Wessington (1416-36) show that there is no ground to accuse the monks of Durham of neglecting their studies even right up to the end.

Having decided not to come down beyond the twelfth century, Mr. Mynors has given these earlier books the full treatment they deserve: he knows all about them, both as literature and as works of art or craftsmanship, and illumines both aspects by full references even to the most remote publications. He has identified Durham books wherever they may be; of the 155 items about 100 remain in their old home, 5 are nearby in Bishop Cosin's Library, 20 have strayed to Cambridge, 8 to Oxford, 11 (+2) to London, but the most precious is at Stonyhurst.

Mr. Mynors divides the books into five main groups: the survivors of the Northumbrian church (nos. 1-12), those of the late Saxon period (nos. 13-29); both these groups are mainly fragmentary or alienated; the books given by Bishop William de St. Carilef (nos. 30-51), more than half of the 39 other than service-books, which are listed in his great Bible (no. 30); the main bulk of the MSS. dealt with, nos. 52-134, dating from the late eleventh to the late twelfth century, many of them no doubt written at Durham; and lastly nos. 135-55, the benefactions of Robert de Adington, J. de Rana, and Bishop Hugh du Puiset (d. 1195).

The items of the first group have been studied by C. H. Turner, E. A. Lowe, and others, some have been the subjects of separate monographs, so only a few called for detailed treatment, the three Gospels and the Cassiodorus (both Davids are pictured). The second class contains only five books now at Durham: most, again, have been separately published.

The books of Bishop William answer in a measure to his architectural work, both symbolizing a great reorganization; part of their importance is due to their dating definitely before 1096. I share the editor's doubts whether no. 35 (pl. 24) belonged to the bishop; it is strangely unlike the rest: no. 38 (pl. 26) is puzzling as it looks quite twenty years younger than it ought to be, and is in a Canterbury hand (cf. the Ch. Ch. Register, *N.P.S.* i, 60, dated A.D. 1120), yet the old catalogue seems to assign it to the bishop's gift. It is pleasant on pl. 20 to have the figures of Bishop William and the monk-artist, Robert Benjamin, fit to set beside the portraits of Eadwin, of Hugo Pictor, and William de Brailes.

Within the miscellaneous twelfth-century books Mr. Mynors makes smaller groups so as to place them more or less in order of date: for this purpose he uses a new criterion, the decoration of the middle-sized initials, giving us a delightful study of its development and claiming certain mannerisms for Durham: these claims must be tested by careful comparison with manuscripts from other sources, and published plates do not help much: it is too soon to say that they are established. The most curious of his plates is in this group, Gilbert of Limerick's diagram or general image of the church, like nothing so much as a big window in the worst style of carpenter's gothic (pl. 32, from no. 47). Another curiosity is no. 57 (Hunter 100, the class-

mark denotes an eighteenth-century purchase, nothing to do with Glasgow): pls. 36 and 37 show astronomical and surgical drawings, recalling in the early twelfth century something of the old Winchester style; so does pl. 56 from no. 151, Our Lord between the four Evangelists.

It is fortunate that in one of the eight (nos. 135-44) surviving books given by Robert de Adington is preserved the list of the original thirty-eight, evidently the collection formed by a rich scholar studying at Paris in the eighties of the twelfth century.

Finally, we have the most famous of the later Durham Books, those of Bishop Hugh du Puiset (1153-95, see P.S.), his Bible ranking with the Winchester Bible, the Bury Bible, and their compeers, and his glossed Epistles not far behind (nos. 146-55).

In his introduction the editor deals with the famous old catalogues (surpassed only by those of Canterbury), adding valuable fragments to them, with the inscriptions of the old librarians and with the bindings. Most of the books have been rebound, but the Stonyhurst St. John, which seems to me more insular than Mr. Hobson allows, the Romanesque bindings of de Adington and du Puiset, and some more ordinary examples make a series hard to equal elsewhere. Anyone familiar with the words in *quaterno* or in *quaternis* in monastic catalogues will welcome the discovery of no. 74 described in *Cat. Vett.* as *Note super cantica canticorum in quaterno* and still 'triumphantly in quires', showing exactly how such quires were fastened together.

No praise is too high for the plates: the frontispiece is the best reproduction of a great Hiberno-Saxon MS. that ever I saw; the other coloured plates show the development of book decorations, particularly of elaborate initials: the plain plates illustrate the handwriting and make-up from the famous Maccabees fragment (no. 1), perhaps the Italian original which served as a model for Amiatinus, to du Puiset's Bible, or the Gratian (no. 134, pl. 47) with its almost thirteenth-century look.

As the plates show everything full size, their magnificence has meant a magnificent volume, yet I feel a little for the 350 later books, which hardly deserve such splendour: I hope in due course Mr. Mynors will take pity on them and do them justice. Rud was good for his own time, but more is wanted now. I should have liked a modest quarto of text forming Vol. I of the Catalogue, a portfolio for plates and the certain prospect of Vol. II to complete the work, but I gather the first idea was just a set of pictures of the very famous books, whereas this is something complete as far as it goes.

And as a piece of book making it is a masterpiece of the Oxford Press, produced at the risk of the Dean and Chapter with the enlightened help of the friends of the Cathedral. I wonder whether 250 copies will really satisfy the world demand for such a book. Those of us who do possess it may certainly congratulate ourselves.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

P.S. The editor allows me to add that his hope that more Durham manuscripts would come to light is being fulfilled. Mr. N. R. Ker has drawn his attention to two in the British Museum: Harley 3864, Bede on the Catholic Epistles, which would take its place as no. 66 A, no doubt a Durham product being very like no. 63 in hand and ornament; Add. 16616,

Marcus Glosatus, another of du Puiset's books becomes no. 151 A. He also points out the slip in the description of no. 8, the glossed epistles at Trinity, Cambridge; the gloss is not 'in Anglo-Saxon', but 'in Anglo-Saxon hands'.

E. H. M.

St. Ninian and the Origins of the Christian Church in Scotland. By W. DOUGLAS SIMPSON. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xii + 112. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940. 10s.

Dr. Simpson complains that historians of the Church in Scotland have done more than justice to the missionary work of St. Columba at the expense of his predecessor, St. Ninian. This book goes far to explain the reasons for this neglect. The *Life* by St. Ailred dates from the twelfth century and is historically of little value. Neither the genuine piety of the Cistercian Abbot nor his flowing style can conjure up an historical figure to set beside the great Abbot of Iona so vividly portrayed by Adamnan. Nor does the eighth century *Miracula Nynie episcopi* (Mon. Hist. Germ.: Poetae Latini Aevi Carol. iv, 943), not mentioned by Dr. Simpson, give more details. But history cannot be confined to persons, and tacitly discarding the late *Life*, the author attempts to reconstruct the work of St. Ninian, relying on the earlier sources, historical and archaeological.

The first chapter, incorporating the results of recent excavation, paints the conditions in the borderland beyond the imperial frontier at the end of the fourth century. The picture is changing as fresh evidence comes to light. Sufficient is now known to show the background of St. Ninian's mission, though the account of Stilicho's organization (p. 12) needs revision. Disregarding the rubric *per lineam valli* the *Notitia Dignitatum* suggests a defensive system covering the Romanized Vale of York with the Cumbrian coast abandoned rather than a line holding the Stainmore Road from York to Carlisle (R. G. Collingwood in *Roman Britain*, p. 289). Nor is the evidence from Brough sufficient to prove an occupation of the fort under Stilicho. In the second chapter the influences of Rome and of St. Martin are discussed, and when the achievement is considered (ch. 3), the arrangement at Tours is aptly cited to bring out the dual character of Candida Casa as monastery (bishopric) and retreat. The description of the second site on the promontory with its vallum recalls the Celtic monastery at Tintagel.

The appreciation of St. Ninian's achievement necessarily starts from Bede, and though he qualifies his remarks with a cautious *ut perhibent* there is no real reason to doubt his statements. Whithorn was already Anglian when he wrote, and sixty years later the Northumbrian church possessed sufficient material for the scholars of York to compose a metrical life of the Saint (Alcuin, *Ep.* 273). The corroborative evidence cited by Dr. Simpson is diverse. For Galloway and the Lothian-Border area the inscriptions are of primary importance, and the evidence is confirmed by the survival of Whithorn and by the Christian force which started from Edinburgh to die at Catraeth, c. 600 (cf. *Antiquity* xiii, 25). The dedications on which Dr. Simpson lays so much stress confirm this evidence. For Strathclyde in the narrower sense, similar but less authoritative data are available. The crux lies in the mission to the southern Picts between the Forth and the coast of

Aberdeen. Here neither inscriptions nor trustworthy native records are available to confirm the story of the dedications, but to reject their testimony also involves the rejection of the record of Bede and the invention of some other explanation for the traces of pre-Columban Christianity embedded in the later records.

C. A. R. R.

Two Lives of St. Cuthbert. By BERTRAM COLGRAVE. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$. Pp. xiv + 375. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1940. 21s.

Before Mr. Colgrave's edition of the two more important early lives of Saint Cuthbert we were compelled to rely on publications nearly one hundred years old. Those texts were in many respects unsatisfactory, and though later articles supplied some additional material, critical editions were clearly necessary to students.

For Bede's Life the text uses MS. 165 of University College, Oxford, dating from the first half of the twelfth century. The Anonymous Life is taken from MS. 267 of St. Omer of c. 900. The latter work was written between 699 and 705 by a monk of Lindisfarne. The suggestion that the unknown author is to be identified with Herefrith is rightly rejected by the editor. It is largely drawn upon by Bede, though the verbal borrowings are negligible. Writing c. 721, he supplies much additional information based on eyewitnesses' accounts and we are explicitly told that his Life had been corrected in draft by the community of Lindisfarne.

The Latin texts are clearly printed with an apparatus criticus conforming to modern standards. Opposite the text is an English translation, and notes at the end of the book elucidate obscurities and provide additional information and interesting parallels. These notes and the passages which they illustrate throw much light on many topics connected with the spread of Christianity in the north. This edition, together with Mr. Colgrave's earlier publication of the Life of St. Wilfred by Eddius Stephanus, forms a worthy contribution by the University of Durham to the study of the origins of the Church whose tradition of learning it now carries on.

The following minor criticisms may be suggested. *Vita Anon.* i, 4 (p. 68): *curatum erat*; healed rather than tended, as *sanari* in the parallel passage of Bede (p. 160) shows; for *curare* in this sense cf. *Vita Anon.* iv, 17. *Vita Anon.* ii, 2 (p. 78): *pro benedictione panis*; the allusion is probably to the blessing of the food before a meal. P. 336 note on 'the Mass' assumes the use of the present Roman canon, a disputable point. But the story as given by Bede does not involve any difficulty. Hadwald's name would have appeared on the list of the living as a member of the community, and it was the removal from this text that the author probably had in mind. *Beda's Vita*, cap. 43: it might be added that the translation of these relics was celebrated on 4th September (Henry Bradshaw Society, *English Calendars before 1100*, p. 10, Digby MS. 63 of 9th century which shows that this feast cannot refer to the later translation at Durham); cf. the interval between exhumation and translation in the case of St. Milburge in the eleventh century (*Journ. Brit. Arch. Assn.* Ser. III, iv, 122-3, quoting MS. Lansdowne 436).

C. A. R. R.

The Story of the Lamp (and the Candle). By F. W. ROBINS. 10 × 7½. Pp. xiv + 155. London: Milford, 1939. 15s.

A conspicuous blank in archaeological literature has hitherto been the absence of any comprehensive English work dealing with lighting and lighting appliances. Much valuable material, indeed, exists, but it is scattered, mostly in the form of papers communicated to learned societies, magazine articles, and catalogues of collections, for the most part confined to a special period or some single aspect of the subject or embracing only a limited geographical area.

The volume under consideration is designed to fill this blank. The author wisely disclaims any attempt to supply an encyclopaedia of lighting appliances for all periods and countries, but his task is not unambitious. His researches cover a wide area, and chronologically extend from the primitive use of the fire from the domestic hearth as a means of illumination to the latest developments of electric lighting. In addition to the study of public and private collections in this country and abroad, Mr. Robins can rely on a large collection of his own, consisting of about eight hundred examples, which form the greater part of the numerous illustrations to the book.

The lamp is his main theme, and forms the central section of the book, the first part being devoted to the domestic fire, torches, splinters, rush-lights, dips and candles, with a chapter on the evolution of the candlestick. The concluding section is devoted to what the author terms 'sidelights', comprising phosphorescent living creatures, lanterns, mine lamps, lighthouses, and street lighting.

An idea of the range of the book may be had from the list of plates, with separate references to each object. Few countries are unrepresented, and we are shown examples of lamps from prehistoric times to the electric light of the present day. It is indeed a question whether too great a profusion of illustrations has not been presented; in some of the plates the objects are too crowded for visual comfort, and in specimens in which ornament and detail are no less important than the general form the small size to which they have been reduced is a definite disadvantage. While the general, and especially the technical reader is probably sufficiently catered for, the specialist in a particular period or type will find less than he requires. To take an example: on plate VI (a), illustrating the pricket candlestick, the medievalist, at least, will feel that an opportunity has been missed of illustrating some of the very remarkable specimens of the Romanesque period, which show the type at its best.

The account of the lamp proper in the main body of the book is valuable as showing the evolution from the hollow stone, bowl, saucer, or shell to the developed and ornamented pottery lamps of the classical periods. The description of the Greek and Roman types follows the arrangement adopted in the British Museum catalogue of lamps. The Roman lamps from Egypt are given a new classification, the author dissenting from Flinders Petrie's grouping based largely on ornamental motives. For the earlier post-classical lamps the development is noted from the round to the elongated, ovoid, and pear-shaped types.

The medieval period is curiously and notoriously deficient in material

illustrating methods of lighting, and the fact has to be sadly acknowledged in this book. It is tantalizing to be told of allusions to lamps in medieval documents (more particularly on the Continent), but to be denied chapter and verse; a reference to A. Gay, *Glossaire Archéologique*, s.v. 'lampes' would have gone some way to satisfying our curiosity. In England there seems to be little more to show than examples of the stone cresset lamp supported by a pole or stand, of which there is evidence of the use in monastic establishments. Some examples from the Dark Ages are given. Hanging bowls are mentioned, though non-committally, but as the suggestion that they may have been *gabatae* or hanging lamps used in churches is now dismissed, they are better omitted in this connexion.

With the exception of a chapter on Indian lamps of ornate or fanciful forms for religious use the remainder are 'bygones', including the crusie of our own country and its variants abroad, and different kinds of standing lamps used by the peasantry in many of the continental countries, ending with developments which have not yet become archaeology.

A somewhat serious fault must be noticed in the matter of references. For example, on p. 36 we are told that in the 'Journal of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries' (no volume or page) 'J. R. A.' records that 'the churches of north-east Asia had lamps . . . trimmed with wooden pins, which, when soaked with oil, were used as torches'. This appears to refer to *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xxii, 84, where the 'churches' will be found to be Chukches. On p. 75 the exact reference to float-wick lamps in Herodotus is withheld, while on p. 80 a long passage from the book of Exodus is quoted in full. The bibliography, too, is less helpful than could be desired. A few misprints should be corrected in a future edition, such as 'Chesel Down' (p. 87), and 'Mathiasson' (p. 37).

A. B. T.

Westminster Abbey: its Worship and Ornaments. By Rev. JOCELYN PERKINS. Volumes 1 and 2. 10 × 6½. Pp. xxii + 194, xvi + 215. Alcuin Club Publications, nos. xxxiii and xxxiv. London: Milford, 1938, 1940. 25s. each volume.

Dr. Perkins is well known to readers of this *Journal* as an enthusiastic writer on the great church it has been his privilege to serve as sacrist for upwards of forty years. The volumes now under review, together with a third that is yet to come, will represent his chief work, and one that has cost him many years of labour and patient research, mainly in a hitherto rather neglected field.

The author approaches his subject from the liturgical point of view, beginning with the high altar and presbytery. A general view of the altar and its surroundings in the thirteenth century, so far as it may be reconstructed, is given in picturesque terms which bring home to us the fact that much has been lost by the negligence and vandalism of responsible officials in the past. The superb retable was used by a seventeenth-century carpenter to make the top of a press to contain funeral effigies, and the mosaic pavement, which Dr. Perkins describes as 'spread out like a great sea', was so neglected that Malcolm, in *Londinium Redivivum*, refers to it as 'the wreck of the most glorious work in England . . . trodden, worn and dirtied

daily by hundreds who are unconscious of its value'. Later, it is true, more care was taken of this remarkable work, but not before thousands of *tesserae* had been removed so that a considerable part of what we now see is the work of the nineteenth-century restorer.

In similar detail the sedilia and altar screen are explained, including references to the skilful cleaning of the paintings on the former by Professor Tristram, and the regrettable vicissitudes of the latter, the present west face of which is now wholly modern. The screen was built in the fifteenth century, and it is not unlikely that, as the author assumes, the majority will regret that such a partition should have been thought necessary or desirable. Notwithstanding the architectural beauty and interest of the structure as a unit, no such obstruction was contemplated in the original scheme for the eastern arm.

After carrying the history of the eastern arm down to the present day, Dr. Perkins turns to the choir. This, as he recognizes, with what is now called the *sacrarium*, formed a 'great inner chapel with its high altar dedicated to St. Peter'. The thirteenth-century choir stalls survived until the latter half of the eighteenth century when, owing to 'the blind and almost culpable folly of Dean Thomas and the majority of his capitular colleagues', they were destroyed. They are now represented by two misericordes, one affixed on the south side of King Henry VII's chapel and the other in the Abbey museum. It may, however, be some consolation to know that the appalling schemes conceived by the egregious Wyatt would, had he been allowed to carry them out, have resulted in far greater damage to the church. Dr. Perkins's account of them is of exceptional interest.

Volume ii opens with an account of the nave and its altars, and here the author especially regrets the loss of the rood screen which stood a bay west of the existing choir screen. It was, Dr. Perkins thinks, probably destroyed in the reign of Edward VI, when 'the ruthless hand of the iconoclast fell with crushing weight upon the Abbey'.

The nave has long been without altars, though one has recently been set up in the chamber under the south-west tower. The furnishing of this and the design of its screens was entrusted to Mr. J. N. Comper, whose work Dr. Perkins describes but does not discuss. It must, however, be said that here the introduction of sham gothic embellishments in the form of a retable, and an ornate iron screen liberally gilt, can only be regarded with regret. The chapel is wholly out of harmony with the medieval fabric of the church.

Not the least interesting of the chapters of volume ii is that which tells the story of the shrine of St. Edward. Only the basis now remains; for the golden shrine with its jewelled images, which originally rested upon the mosaic pedestal, disappeared four centuries ago. This golden shrine was begun in 1241 by King Henry III, and his faithful servant in such affairs, Master Edward Fitz Odo, also called 'of Westminster', was in charge. Though a goldsmith, it is unlikely that Edward actually worked on the shrine, as his numerous duties as the king's man of business would not allow him the time. It may be that William of Gloucester, a goldsmith who did much work for the king, and succeeded Edward in the office of keeper of the shrine, was the master in control of the work, and must certainly have been

one of the 'chosen goldsmiths of London' whom the king employed for the task.

Dr. Perkins gives full and interesting accounts of the Coronation Chair, the Chantry of King Henry V, and the Chapel of King Henry VII, and especial note may be taken of his story of Henry VII's original intentions, and of how these came to be changed. But it is not possible, even in a review of some length, to refer to more than a small proportion of the many sections his work includes.

A word must be said, however, about the admirable illustrations. Reproduced from photographs, old prints, paintings, and manuscripts, their selection must have been an arduous task, and the author is to be congratulated upon his success in its performance.

Dr. Perkins has given us a vigorously written work on the Abbey on new lines, and one which should eventually earn for him the thanks of a large body of readers.

J. G. NIPPEN.

Le Problème de la Gardé de l'Épée Cypriote de l'Âge du Bronze. Par G. B. GARDNER. 9½ × 6¼. Pp. 8. Extrait du Bulletin de la Société Préhistorique Française, no. 12, 1937.

Mr. Gardner has advanced an ingenious theory as regards the method of hafting the Cypriote hooked tang daggers and swords, which is based on experiments conducted in the museum at Nicosia, where a dagger was hafted into a hilt, copied from one of the clay model dagger and sheath groups. Although his suggestion is possibly correct as regards the smaller blades, yet it is not entirely convincing. One hesitates to believe that the Cypriote copper-smith would use such a complicated method when hafting these blades, and Mr. Gardner fails to explain the purpose of the slits at the junction of the shoulder and the tang, which occur on many extant examples.

A more acceptable explanation has been advanced by M. Schaeffer in *Missions en Chypre*, where the purpose of both the hook and the slits at the shoulders is demonstrated and a strong case for a different method of hafting is put forward. M. Schaeffer also suggests that these weapons were not always used as swords or daggers (as Mr. Gardner assumes), but often as lance-heads.

R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP.

The Archaeology of Crete. By J. D. S. PENDLEBURY, M.A., F.S.A. 9 × 5½. Pp. xxxii + 400. London: Methuen, 1939. 30s.

Mr. Pendlebury has produced a book which has long been wanted in the field of Aegaeon studies and which admirably fulfils the need of summarizing and interpreting the extremely important archaeological evidence which has been steadily accumulating since Sir Arthur Evans first began his researches in Crete over forty years ago. It need hardly be mentioned that Mr. Pendlebury is the obvious person to undertake this task as so much of the latest archaeological information about Crete is the result of his own excavations and researches. Near Eastern as well as Aegaeon archaeologists are exceedingly grateful for a work that succeeds in combining detailed information on all branches of this complex subject with great conciseness and clarity

of expression without ignoring the problems and divergence of views arising from the interpretation of the archaeological evidence. Owing to the excellent arrangement of the book, it is possible for the specialist to find at once information on any such subject as seals, weapons or figurines, as each period is dealt with separately with detailed sub-headings, and ends with a summary of the foreign relations and an invaluable list of sites and surface finds with full details of publication.

The present system of terminology for the nine prehistoric periods originated by Evans is adhered to, but Mr. Pendlebury emphasizes the fact that these periods must be regarded as elastic, that in many cases they overlap (Middle Minoan II and Late Minoan II are practically confined to Knossos and Phaistos), and that 'one day perhaps we shall be able to talk in terms of dynasties and regnal years, but until then the present system cannot be bettered'. The Introduction also contains a stimulating discussion of the difficulties inherent in dating the early Cretan Bronze Age on foreign contacts, in contrast with the more certain evidence of the Middle and Late periods.

An account of the physical characteristics of the island includes a section on routes and topography rendered doubly useful by the fact that this is based on the author's own journeys. At the same time the information given by the ancient geographers is not neglected and details of modern maps and charts are given. This chapter is illustrated by a good series of photographs of the island.

Certain important points may be mentioned. In the Neolithic period the earliest strata show a state of civilization which is sufficiently advanced to make it difficult to believe that the inhabitants were indigenous. Mr. Pendlebury is inclined to conclude that an early immigration from south-west Asia Minor took place in view of the Anatolian connexions evident in this period and the continuation of this early culture into Early Minoan I times (especially in eastern Crete), when Anatolian influence is more marked. Mr. Pendlebury stresses the lack of anthropological evidence in this period, and the extent to which one can base conclusions on the slender evidence of the affinities of figurines, pottery, and the fixed hearth will only be apparent when more extensive work can be undertaken both in Asia Minor and Crete. From Early Minoan II to Late Minoan III, however, it seems certain that there was no new racial type introduced to the island.

With regard to the knowledge and use of copper the term 'Neolithic', as opposed to 'Chalcolithic', is really as misleading in Crete as it is when used elsewhere. There is evidence that the inhabitants, at any rate in the Upper Neolithic period, knew copper, although it was by no means in general use until Early Minoan II times. The copper axe-head found at Knossos is rightly described as an obvious import, yet the chalices which are clearly copied from metal prototypes comparable to the miniature copper vases found in the tomb of Khasekhemui in Egypt show that the Early Minoan craftsmen were certainly acquainted with this metal.

Over the question of Middle Minoan chronology the drastic revision of Near Eastern chronology by Mr. Sidney Smith, made since Mr. Pendlebury's book appeared, cannot fail to affect Cretan dating. The Platanos tomb with

the seal of the first Dynasty of Babylon period found with a deposit of Middle Minoan I polychrome vases cannot now be dated *circa* 2100 B.C.; it must be later, probably *circa* 1800 B.C. This, however, does not imply that the dating of Middle Minoan II, fixed by the evidence of the close relations existing between Crete and XIIth Dynasty Egypt, need be altered. It is merely another piece of evidence to show that in many parts of the island Middle Minoan I continued straight into Middle Minoan III which the author dates as starting between 1800 B.C. and 1750 B.C. These figures make it possible that some of the Middle Minoan II vases found in Egypt may belong to the thirteenth Dynasty period, as M. Schaeffer is inclined to believe, when considering the problem in connexion with evidence from Ras Shamra.

Mr. Pendlebury states that there is little evidence for direct connexion between Crete and Syria or Mesopotamia during Middle Minoan III, and he thinks this was due to 'the result of the general disturbance of the Near East consequent on the irruption of the horsemen of Central Asia which resulted in the "Aryan" domination of the Kassites in Babylonia and the Hurri in Mitanni, the wave of "horse-breeding Minyans" into Mainland Greece and the subsequent descent of the scum of Asia on to Egypt in the shape of the Hyksos'. This view cannot now be regarded as entirely correct. Although Egyptian power in Syria collapsed shortly before Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria concluded his successful expedition to the Mediterranean, *circa* 1785 B.C., Hammurabi was ruling in Babylon at this time and was rapidly extending his dominion, probably eventually becoming overlord of Assyria. That sufficiently stable conditions existed for considerable international trade is shown by the documentary evidence that shortly after 1800 B.C. goods from Kaptara, the Biblical Caphtor (almost certainly Crete), were to be found in the storerooms of the palace of Mari. Reference to this is omitted. For the later part of the period Mr. Pendlebury wisely rejects the theory that the 'Atchana' ware found by Sir Leonard Woolley in Syria is, if not Minoan, so closely connected as to represent the arrival of Minoan settlers, and in fact there is little evidence for postulating Western connexions for this pottery.

The Late Minoan period saw the great expansion of the overwhelming influence of Crete over mainland Greece and the islands, and Mr. Pendlebury believes that it is 'impossible . . . to avoid the conclusion that it was dominated politically by Crete'. In this context the relationship of the Cretan and the mainland cultures is clearly demonstrated. He concludes that Crete itself was monopolizing the rich Egyptian markets to the detriment of the mainland traders, who were thus barred from direct traffic with Egypt. Thus the reasons for the eventual violent destruction of the powerful Cretan cities were economic rather than political.

It remains to add a word of praise for the excellent maps showing the different sites in each period which with the good plates of sites and objects help to make this book the standard work on the subject.

R. MAXWELL-HYSLOP.

Periodical Literature

Antiquity, June 1940:—New World origins, by J. G. D. Clark; To Petra from the West, a forgotten Roman highway, by C. S. Jarvis; Hand-made pottery in Jutland, by A. Steensberg; Dead or alive?, by W. H. Riddell; From the Stone Age to the Motor age, by A. W. Brøgger; The early art of Northern Europe, by A. Vayson de Pradenne; A forgotten exploration of the Western Isles, by I. A. Richmond; Iranian tin; A national atlas, by O. G. S. Crawford; Viking weapons found near Beardmore, Ontario, by C. T. Currelly; Toggle pins in Cyprus, by J. R. Stewart.

The Journal of the British Archaeological Association, 3rd ser., vol. 4:—An introduction to Dorset church architecture, by E. T. Long; Castles of 'livery and maintenance', by W. D. Simpson; The houses of Salisbury Close in the fourteenth century, by Kathleen Edwards; The history of the alien priory of Wenlock, by Rose Graham; Inventories of three small alien priories, by Marjorie M. Morgan; A medieval brick-yard at Hull, by F. W. Brooks; Notes on medieval church ironwork, by E. Yates; Norsey Wood; A further note on the medieval stained glass at Long Melford, Suffolk, by Rev. C. Woodforde; Report of the Congress at Shrewsbury.

Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, Summer 1940:—The Morier paintings at Wilton, by Rev. P. Sumner; The yeomanry as an aid to Civil power, 1795–1867, i, by Major O. Teichman; The tank and its predecessors, by C. ffoulkes; The Heavy Cavalry charge at Balacclava, by Major G. Tylden; The dress of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, by Lieut. N. P. Dawnay; Canada and the American Civil War: more Wolseley letters, by Brig.-Gen. H. Biddulph.

Autumn 1940:—An early portrait of a Highland officer, by Capt. A. E. Haswell Miller; The yeomanry as an aid to Civil power, 1795–1867, ii, by Major O. Teichman; Fire, smoke and gas, by C. ffoulkes; The permanent colonial forces of Cape Colony, by Major G. Tylden; The battle of Tel-el-Kebir, 1882, by Brig.-Gen. H. Biddulph; British forces in North America, 1774–81, ii, by C. T. Atkinson; A grenadier officer of 1751, by Rev. P. Sumner; British operations on the Penobscot in 1814, by Lieut. G. F. G. Stanley; The early uniform of the British army, by Rev. P. Sumner.

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Mary, Shipley; Sketches of Sussex churches; The churchwardens' accounts of West Tarring, by Rev. W. J. Pressey.

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by S. Smith; Oak panels presented to the Museum, by J. S. Richardson; Jet necklace from a cist in Strathnaver, by R. B. K. Stevenson; A massive double-linked silver chain, by A. J. H. Edwards; Three penannular armlets and two finger rings of silver, by A. J. H. Edwards.

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Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries

Thursday 9th May 1940. Mr. A. W. Clapham, President, in the chair.
Mrs. Christopher Hawkes and Messrs. B. W. J. Kent and E. M. M. Alexander were admitted Fellows.

The President announced that he had appointed Prof. Sidney Smith to be a Vice-President of the Society.

Sir Eric Maclagan, F.S.A., exhibited on behalf of Mrs. Boscawen part of a lead figure from a crucifix found in Ludgvan church, Cornwall (p. 509).

Mrs. Christopher Hawkes, F.S.A., read a paper on the excavation of a megalithic tomb near Waterford, Eire.

Mr. A. Leslie Armstrong, F.S.A., read a paper on the discovery of a figurine of the 'Earth Mother' and other cult objects in the excavation of Pit 15, Grime's Graves, 1939.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were then adjourned until Thursday 17th October 1940.

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